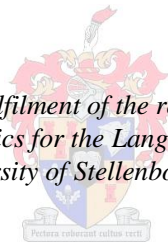


Identifying potential grammatical features for explicit instruction to isiXhosa-speaking learners of English

by
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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Anneke Perold

December 2011

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Summary

Given the promise of upward socio-economic mobility that English is currently deemed to hold in South Africa, it is a matter of egalitarian principle that the schooling system provides all learners in this country with a fair chance at acquiring English to a high level of proficiency. There exists a common misconception, however, that such a chance is necessarily provided in the form of English medium education for all learners, regardless of what their mother tongue may be. As a result, the majority of learners are caught in a system that cites English as medium of instruction, despite their and often also their teachers' low overall proficiency in this language; the little opportunity many have for the naturalistic acquisition of English; and the national Language-in-Education Policy of 1997's advice to the contrary, in promoting additive bilingualism with the home language serving as foundation through the use thereof as medium of instruction.

As an interim solution, it is suggested that English-as-an-additional-language be developed to serve as a strong support subject in explicitly teaching learners the grammar of English. In order to identify grammatical features for explicit instruction, an initial step was taken in analysing the free speech of eight first language speakers of isiXhosa, the African language most commonly spoken in the Western Cape. The grammatical intuitions of these speakers, who had all reached a near-native level of proficiency in English, were tested in an English grammaticality judgement task. Collectively, results revealed syntactic, semantic and morphological features of English, in that order, to prove most problematic to these speakers. More specifically, in terms of syntax, the omission of especially prepositions and articles was identified as a candidate topic for explicit instruction, along with the syntactic positioning of adverbs and particles. In terms of semantics, incorrect lexical selection, especially of prepositions / prepositional phrases and pronouns, proved the most common non-native feature to be suggested for explicit teaching. Lastly, in terms of morphology, inflection proved most problematic, with the accurate formulation (especially in terms of tense and / or aspect forms) of past tense, progressive and irrealis structures being the features suggested for explicit instruction, along with the third person singular feature.

Opsomming

Aangesien Engels tans vir baie Suid-Afrikaners die belofte van opwaartse sosio-ekonomiese mobiliteit inhou, is dit 'n egalitêre beginselsaak dat die skoolsisteem alle leerders in hierdie land voorsien van 'n regverdige kans op die verwerwing van Engels tot op 'n hoë vaardigheidsvlak. Daar bestaan egter 'n algemene wanopvatting dat só 'n kans homself noodwendig voordoen in die vorm van Engels-medium onderrig vir alle leerders, ongeag wat hul moedertaal ook al mag wees. Gevolglik is die meerderheid leerders vandag vasgevang in 'n sisteem wat Engels as onderrigmedium voorhou, ten spyte van hul en dikwels ook hul onderwysers se algehele lae vaardigheidsvlak in Engels én vele se beperkte geleenthede om Engels op 'n naturalistiese wyse te verwerf. Hierdie sisteem is verder ook teenstrydig met die nasionale Taal-in-Onderrigbeleid van 1997 se bevordering van toevoegende tweetaligheid met die huistaal as fondasie in die gebruik daarvan as onderrigmedium.

As 'n interim-oplossing word daar voorgestel dat *English-as-an-additional-language* ontwikkel word tot 'n sterk ondersteunende vak deurdat dit leerders die grammatika van Engels eksplisiet leer. Ten einde grammatikale eienskappe vir eksplisiete instruksie te identifiseer, is 'n eerste stap geneem in die analise van die vrye spraak van agt eerstetaalsprekers van isiXhosa, die Afrikataal wat die algemeenste gebesig word in die Wes-Kaap. Hierdie sprekers, wat almal 'n naby-eerstetaalsprekervlak van vaardigheid bereik het in Engels, se grammatikale intuïsie is deur middel van 'n grammatikaliteitsoordeel-taak getoets. Resultate het gesamentlik daarop gedui dat sintaktiese, semantiese en morfologiese eienskappe van Engels, in hierdie volgorde, die grootste probleme ingehou het vir hierdie sprekers. Meer spesifiek, ten opsigte van sintaksis, is die weglating van veral voorsetsels en lidwoorde as kandidaatonderwerpe vir eksplisiete instruksie geïdentifiseer, tesame met die sintaktiese posisionering van bywoorde en partikels. Ten opsigte van semantiek, was onakkurate leksikale seleksie, veral in die geval van voorsetsels / voorsetselfrases en voornaamwoorde, die algemeenste problematiese eienskap wat gevolglik vir eksplisiete instruksie voorgestel is. Laastens, ten opsigte van morfologie, het infleksie die grootste uitdaging blyk te wees, en is die akkurate formulering (veral ingevolge tempus- en / of aspekvorme) van verledetyds-, progressiewe en irrealisstrukture voorgestel as kandidaatonderwerpe vir eksplisiete instruksie, tesame met die derdepersoon-enkelvoud-eienskap.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Problem statement

As a country with 11 official languages, South Africa is strongly reliant on a lingua franca for communication across linguistic and cultural borders. With the hegemony of Afrikaans steadily declining since the National Party's fall from power 16 years ago, English has emerged as the most powerful contender, its status as global language no doubt serving as driving-force. Perceived as a status-marker, English has for many South Africans become symbolic of education, affluence, internationalism and freedom (see e.g. Heugh 2007:188,200; Nomlomo 2004:131 and Sigcau 2004:245). It is regarded as serving not only the nation in promoting communication, but even more so the individual in serving as the golden key to upward socio-economic mobility. How this attitude will affect traditional identities, indigenous languages and cultural heritage is a moot point to be disclosed by time only. Whatever the long-term effect, the majority of South Africans will, at this point in time, benefit from having a high level of proficiency in English (Heugh 2007:212). For this reason, all South African learners should be allowed equal and sufficient opportunities to the attainment thereof. The reality, however, is that few South Africans indeed have such access and that, "whilst English is believed to be the horizontal language of access[, - AP] it has in effect become the vertical language of exclusion" (Heugh 2007:200).

A common misconception is that being exposed to English as medium of instruction in education for as much time as possible, regardless of the learner's first language (L1), is an infallible strategy for attaining a high proficiency in the language (Nomlomo 2004:131; Probyn 2005:165). Indirectly strengthening the desire for English medium instruction this misconception evokes, is the negative *apartheid*-stigma that has tainted the concept of mother tongue education for many black South Africans (Heugh 2007:203 and Probyn 2005:154). Although the national language-in-education policy of 1997 currently promotes, on linguistically solid grounds, additive bilingualism with the home language serving as foundation through the use thereof as medium of instruction, this

policy has, in general, not been actively implemented (Heugh 2007:188; Plüddemann, Braam, October and Wababa 2004:8; Probyn 2005:161 and Sigcau 2004:243). According to Probyn (2005:161), the African schools that have affected changes in their language policy, have generally chosen to incorporate English as the language of learning and teaching at an even earlier stage, completely disregarding recommendations to the contrary. Gaum (in Plüddemann et al. 2004:8) ascribes this situation to a “legal loophole that ‘places no obligation on schools to offer particular languages...’”, allowing them to yield to the wishes of parents and learners in this matter.

A consequence of the above scenario is that whole generations of students are attempting to make their way through the schooling system without full proficiency in the medium of instruction. Especially in rural schools, learners’ opportunities for the naturalistic acquisition of English outside the classroom are limited due to the demographics of the environment (Probyn 2005:157). The generally poor English proficiency of teachers further reduces learners’ opportunities for developing their own English language skills (Heugh 2007:211; Mbude-Shale, Wababa, Plüddemann 2004:160; Probyn 2005:157 and Sigcau 2004:242). This situation is exacerbated by academic texts rarely being available in any medium but English and homework, tests, exams and consequent assessment being conducted through the medium of English (see e.g. Probyn 2005:163). Much research has been done on the negative academic consequences of such a system and the need to develop cognitive and academic language proficiency in the L1 as a prerequisite for attaining it in the second language (L2) (see e.g. Cummins 1980, 2000; Nomlomo 2004:145 and Thomas and Collier, in Leung 2005:244). The result of the current situation is that learners reach the end of their schooling with lower than expected levels of language proficiency in both English and their mother tongue. This will necessarily have impacted on both their cognitive development and academic achievement (Sigcau 2004:245). Ultimately, the low level of English L2 proficiency learners in this situation acquire, fails to unlock the door to the desired upward socio-economic mobility.

Until the current language-in-education policy reaches fulfilment *de facto*, an interim solution may be to improve learners' L2 English proficiency in the English-as-an-additional-language (EAL) classroom through explicit instruction.

1.2 Research aims

The primary aim of this study, then, is to determine what the most common non-native features are that remain in the L2 English usage of near-native speakers (NNSs) who have isiXhosa as L1. The reason for determining the latter is to identify those features that learners at lower levels of proficiency should receive explicit instruction on in the EAL classroom.

The above aim rests on two underlying assumptions. The first is that the non-native features that occur in the language use of NNSs, also occur in that of learners with lower levels of proficiency and that learners at all levels of proficiency will thus benefit from instruction on these features. The second assumption is that learners will indeed benefit from explicit instruction on these features. Although the role of explicit instruction in L2 acquisition (L2A) has been debated, a number of recent studies have indicated that explicit, rather than implicit, instruction does indeed lead to increased L2 proficiency (Abu Redwan 2005; Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei and Thurrell 1997; Ellis 2006; Han and Ellis 1998 and Ollerhead and Oosthuizen 2005).

The stimulus for this study lies partly in a related study conducted by Hyltenstam (1992) involving two groups of adolescent L2 Swedish speakers, one group being L1 Finnish and the other L1 Spanish, and a third group of monolingual speakers of Swedish. One of Hyltenstam's (1992:354) research questions was the following: "Are there measurable structural differences in ultimate attainment resulting from first and second language acquisition, even when the second language has been acquired in childhood and when the second language learner is perceived as native-like in the target language?" He compared both the oral and written data of the three groups by analysing the types and frequency of non-native grammatical features in the data. In terms of these features, "clear differences"

were found between the near-native (NN) bilinguals and native monolinguals (Hyltenstam 1992: 351).

In the current study, I will follow Hyltenstam in comparing data from NNSs to data from native speakers (NSs) and analysing the types and frequency of non-native grammatical features in the data. Hyltenstam's (1992:352) aim, however, was to relate his findings to three features claimed to typify the ultimate attainment (UA) of learners in L2 learning, i.e. lack of completeness, fossilisation and control failure. Whereas Hyltenstam's aim was largely theoretical in nature, the aim of the current study — as set out in detail above — is more practical, in the hope that the findings of the study will provide valuable suggestions for L2 teaching and contribute to language planning and language policy in education.

1.3 Research question and sub-question

My specific research question is articulated as follows: “What are the most common non-native features in the L2 English usage of NNSs with L1 isiXhosa?” Additionally, I ask: “Do the features of English grammar that prove to be problematic in the free speech of NNSs with L1 isiXhosa, also prove to be problematic when the same speakers are formally tested on these seemingly problematic features through the use of a grammaticality judgement task (GJT)?” Answering the latter question will help to establish whether learners have either (i) not acquired the relevant features of English at all or (ii) acquired the features and can easily apply them during the completion of formal linguistic tasks (such as a GJT), when more processing time is available, but have trouble applying them in free speech. This will, in turn, determine which methods would be best suited for the instruction of the features, i.e. whether one should focus on explicitly instructing learners on these features or simply reinforcing, through practice, the application of these features in free speech.

1.4 Hypotheses

In interpreting the findings of his study, Hyltenstam (1992:363) maintains the hypothesis that “second language acquisition, not only among adults, but also when it takes place in childhood ..., can, in certain conditions, result in an ultimate level of attainment which is different in terms of error [i.e. non-native feature - AP] frequency from that of first language speakers of the same language”. In accordance with this hypothesis, it is anticipated that the L1 isiXhosa speakers who acquired English during childhood, will score lower than the NSs of English on the English GJT, despite them having reached a NN level of proficiency in English.

Additionally, the types of features that prove to be most difficult to the NNSs in the GJT are hypothesised to differ, to a certain extent, from those that prove to be most difficult to NSs. If this hypothesis is confirmed, it will correlate with Hyltenstam’s finding of differences between NNSs and NSs in terms of the types of non-native grammatical features found in their language usage. Although the possible reasons for such differences will not be of interest, it is postulated that many of the differences may be traceable to the influence of the L1 on the L2 and to differences in the language processing mechanisms of bilinguals and monolinguals.

1.5 Thesis layout

This thesis consists of six chapters, of which the first, current one serves as introduction. Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature on L2A as it relates to UA, starting with an introductory overview of the main concerns in L2A research to date. This is followed by a discussion of the use of nativelikeness as the primary standard in measuring UA, an overview of case studies on and arguments around UA and a discussion of the influence of bilingualism effects on levels of UA. The chapter concludes with a summary of the research done on Universal Grammar (UG) accessibility in adult L2A and the UA of child L2 learners.

Chapter 3 provides a review of the literature on the power of English, language-in-education policy in South Africa and explicit language instruction. The chapter opens

with a discussion of the power of English as a global language, leading into a description of the sociolinguistic profile of South African communities broadly and a summary of the South African language-in-education policy over the last three and a half centuries. The latter summary ends with an in-depth description of the *de facto* situation of language in education in South Africa today. The chapter furthermore details two of the proposed solutions to the main problem in selecting media of instruction in this country, and concludes with a section on the value of explicit language instruction.

Chapter 4 details the methodology followed in conducting the ensuing study, including the participant selection procedure which involved a language background questionnaire and proficiency test, and the data collection instruments used, namely a semi-structured interview with the researcher, followed by a GJT.

Chapter 5 offers a presentation and analysis of the collected data, i.e. the results of the GJT and the results of the analysis of the NNSs' free speech collected during the semi-structured interviews. The latter results are presented in the form of an exemplified summary of the four main categories of non-native features found in the NNSs' free speech. These are then analysed on grounds of a detailed quantification of all occurrences of non-native features. The chapter concludes with a summary of the features proving most problematic in each of the main categories.

The final chapter provides a discussion of the results presented in the previous one, leading to the identification of those features of English grammar that are suggested for explicit instruction to L2 English learners at lower levels of proficiency than NN. In conclusion, the main findings of the study are summarised and its limitations and strengths acknowledged alongside suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

Literature review:

Ultimate attainment in second language acquisition

This chapter will provide an introduction to the main concerns in second language acquisition (L2A) research, followed by a discussion of the two concerns most relevant to the current study, i.e. UA and nativelikeness. The latter feature is the standard by which the former, i.e. UA, is measured. The discussion will be supported by a summary of the most cited studies on UA and the arguments put forward by researchers on grounds thereof. Following this, there will be a discussion of the effect of bilingualism on levels of UA, where after a section on the accessibility of UG in adult L2A is provided. The chapter will conclude with a section on levels of UA among child learners of an L2.

2.1 The main concerns in second language acquisition research

In recent research on language acquisition, much of the focus has been on one of two phenomena, namely L1 acquisition (L1A) and adult (i.e. post-pubescent) L2A. The primary distinction between these phenomena is the general difference in the result of the two processes: in “normal” individuals, native competence is a guaranteed result of L1A, whilst adult L2 learners vary in their apparent ability to attain such a level in the L2, with failure to fully acquire the L2 grammar being the norm (Birdsong 1992:706). Much debate in adult L2A research has centered on whether adult L2 learners can ultimately attain nativelike competence, with researchers in one camp claiming it possible and those in another deeming it impossible (Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam 2009:249).

In an attempt to account for the abovementioned difference between L1A and L2A outcomes, research on adult L2A is often placed in the framework of debates on the critical period hypothesis (CPH) as it applies to L2A (CPH-L2A), and the accessibility of

UG during adult L2A. The CPH, in essence, states that the ability to acquire a language, either first or second, to nativelike levels is limited to a specific period early in life, after which it is subject to a maturational decline (Birdsong 1999:1). Despite the existence of various formulations of this hypothesis depending on the model of language acquisition within which it is applied and the degree of significance awarded to the specific period (sometimes resulting in arguments for a “sensitive” rather than “critical” period), the term “CPH” customarily subsumes the entire collection of positions (Birdsong 1999:2; Birdsong and Molis 2001:236 and Ellis 1994:492). The one claim on which all the different variations are in accordance, is that older L2 learners cannot achieve an ultimate level of proficiency that matches that of native speakers (White and Genesee 1996:234). Researchers are, however, divided in their opinions as to whether the end of the critical period results in a complete loss of or limited access to UG, the latter being “a mental [language learning – AP] faculty consisting of innately specified constraints on the possible forms that natural language grammars may take” (Birdsong 1999:3). These constraints have been postulated to take the form of abstract principles and parameters (White and Genesee 1996:235).

In providing an introduction to the various formulations of the CPH, Birdsong (1999) sets out some of the possible causes of the maturational decline in language learning abilities previously suggested by researchers. Two strongly biologically-based theories refer to (i) the loss of neural plasticity in the brain due to increased lateralisation, and (ii) the increased processing capacity of adults that causes an increased extraction of linguistic input. The latter complicates the language learning task which is ideally suited to the limited portions of input child learners’ short-term memory allows them to extract. Three UG-based theories include (i) a loss of UG or loss of access to UG, (ii) the “dismantling” of the brain circuitry underlying the language learning faculty to economise on metabolic costs after L1A, and (iii) the “exercise hypothesis” which states that atrophy of this faculty is prevented by the use thereof. The possibility of L1 learning inhibiting further language learning due to the difficulty of unlearning certain associations during

the reorganisation of brain networks, has also been postulated in explanation of the maturational decline in language learning abilities.

2.2 Ultimate attainment and the nativelikeness standard

In developing and testing CPH-L2A and UG-accessibility theories, the end state of the process of L2A has served as the primary point of investigation in L2A research. This end state is known as a speaker's level of UA, where "ultimate" refers not to the highest possible degree of success, i.e. nativelike competence, but to the final, stable result of the L2A process, regardless of the relative success thereof (Birdsong 1999:10). In the words of White (2000:145), UA studies focus on L2 learners who "have got as far as they are going to get". Due to fossilisation which may set in at different points in the L2A process, these learners often emerge from the process with divergent grammars (White 2000:145).

In measuring UA, nativelikeness is conventionally regarded as the standard (Birdsong 2005:320). Consequently, the investigation of UA in order to develop or test CPH-L2A and UG-accessibility theories largely focuses on subjects who qualify as near-native speakers (NNSs), i.e. those L2 learners whose performance appears to match that of native speakers (NSs)¹ (Birdsong 1992:707). Showing that adult L2 learners, as opposed to only children, are able to attain nativelike competence will provide strong evidence against the CPH-L2A. Accordingly, showing that the underlying competence of NNSs can match that of NSs, will indicate that UG access beyond the point already made available via the L1 grammar, along with the resetting of parameters, is indeed possible (White 2000:146).

¹ Note that White (2000:146) includes in her definition of "near-native" those individuals whose performance appears nativelike in all areas but phonology.

According to Birdsong (1992:707), the first of two primary concerns in UA research is whether NNSs exhibit the same competence, as opposed to performance, as NSs. The second concern is the grammatical locus of any differences in the competence of these two groups, if there are indeed any to be found. Accordingly, Sorace (2003:130) deems the advantages of investigating UA the gaining of a clearer picture of the final state of L2A; the revealing of the ways, if any, in which it differs from the final state of L1A in monolinguals; and determining whether it is constrained by UG.

In order for any evidence in support or contention of existing theories of CPH-L2A and UG-accessibility to hold water, a uniform description of the 'nativelikeness' of the NNS is needed to ensure valid comparisons. Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam (2009:259) distinguish between three different interpretations of the concept 'nativelikeness' that are to be found in the literature. The first interpretation involves L2 speakers' self-identification as nativelike speakers of the L2 (e.g. Piller 2002; Seliger 1978 and Seliger, Krashen and Ladefoged 1975), the second NSs' perception of the L2 speakers as nativelike (e.g. Bongaerts 1999; Moyer 1999 and Neufeld 2001) and the third nativelike speakers of the L2 in the sense of speakers being nativelike in both their L2 performance and competence (e.g. Birdsong 1999; Bley-Vroman 1989 and Long 1990). In the opinions of Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam (2009:259), it is the alternation between especially the second and third of these divergent views that has, along with the lack of initial screenings of subjects and exhaustive examination of actual linguistic nativelikeness, lead to an exaggerated estimation in CPH-L2A research of the prevalence of nativelikeness among L2 speakers.

In the same vein, White and Genesee (1996:233) argue that the results of studies up until the time of their writing could not be regarded as evidence in the testing of the CPH-L2A as the subjects on which their claims rested had not necessarily been true NNSs. White and Genesee proceeded to develop criteria that would, in their opinion, qualify a speaker as near-native by employing two NS judges to evaluate tape-recorded interviews with L1

and L2 speakers. Phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary, fluency and “overall impression of nativeness” were judged on an 18-point scale (White and Genesee 1996:242). Only those L2 speakers who were rated by both judges to fall within the same range as NSs (i.e. 17 or 18 on all scales with a maximum of one rating below 17) were considered NNSs.

Other researchers such as Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam (2009) and Long (1990) provide arguments similar to that of White and Genesee (1996) by suggesting the use of more demanding tests of nativelikeness with a wider scope than those previously employed. According to Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam (2009:253), writing thirteen years after White and Genesee (1996), much of the arguments against the CPH-L2A to date were still based on unfounded claims of nativelikeness due to superficial speech analysis or to the use of oversimplified language tasks that test only relatively simple structures. In their call for broad-based testing, Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam (2009:261) propose measuring not only all areas of grammar, but also “skills, processing, automaticity ...[, - AP] production and perception”.

Birdsong (2005:322), on the other hand, argues for a line to be drawn when it comes to employing (non-)nativelikeness as measuring standard in (dis)proving the CPH-L2A. Opposing Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam (2009), he states that “[i]t would be a disservice to the scientific process to insulate the [CPH-L2A – AP] from falsifiability by adding task upon task and measure upon measure to the nativelikeness criterion”. In reaction hereto and concluding the argument to date, Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam (2009:293) reject the possibility of, at that point in time, knowing where to draw the line Birdsong (2005) argues for. That it lies well beyond measures of nativelikeness based on speakers’ own opinions of their L2 abilities, natelike pronunciation, language behaviour and scores on a restricted set of L2 phenomena, as well as “linguistic representations and UG constraints” was the most that could confidently be said about the locus of any such line at the time of writing (Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam 2009:293).

2.3 An overview of case studies on and arguments around ultimate attainment

Coppieters' (1987) investigation of semantic contrasts and syntactic conditions in the L2 grammars of NNSs of French proved a landmark study in the field of UA research. The results of a grammaticality judgment test (GJT) employed in this study showed significant differences between NNS and NS norms. After eliciting and discussing both NSs' and NNSs' intuitions and interpretations of various French structures, it was concluded that the competence of the NNSs diverged both quantitatively and qualitatively from that of the NSs (White and Genesee 1996:239). This study has, however, been criticised on grounds of subjects being selected too subjectively, with reports of friends and colleagues on prospective subjects' oral proficiency and an interview with the researcher being used as selection criteria.

In 1989, Johnson and Newport reported on a study of the levels of UA of Korean and Chinese L2 learners of English with differing ages at onset of acquisition. A GJT testing 12 different types of morphological and syntactic structures was administered. Results showed a systematic decline in level of performance with an increase in age at onset of acquisition among learners who had started the L2A process before puberty (Johnson and Newport 1989:60,79). Although performance was generally low among learners who had started the L2A process after puberty, no such clear relationship between age and UA was, however, to be found in this group (1989:79). The results were interpreted as providing support for the CPH-L2A and showing nativelike levels of UA to be unattainable among adult L2 learners (1989:60,81).

In reaction to a challenge posed by Long (1990:255) to find a single adult L2 learner who managed to attain nativelike L2 competence in order to disprove the CPH-L2A, Birdsong (1992) partially replicated Coppieters' (1987) study, improving the methodological soundness of the original. This time, no significant differences were found between the judgments of NNSs and NSs, with many of the NNSs' performance equaling that of NSs. Birdsong (1992:709) interpreted his findings as evidence that the level of UA in certain

post-pubescent L2 learners can indeed match that of L1 speakers of the same language. He does, however, point out the limited scope of his study which brings into question the extent to which his findings can be generalised (Birdsong 1992:742).

Birdsong's (1992) findings were supported by that of White and Genesee (1996) who compared the performance of NSs of English to that of NNSs and non-native speakers on a timed GJT and a question formation task. The Subjacency and the Empty Category Principles were the two areas of UG tested, both previously claimed to be constrained by the end of the critical period (White and Genesee 1996:233). No significant differences were found between NNSs' and NSs' accuracy rates or reaction times on the GJT. Non-native speakers, however, performed significantly slower than the subjects in the other two groups (1996:255-256). The researchers concluded that the attainment of nativelike competence by L2 learners, even those past puberty, is indeed possible (1996:233). Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam (2009:255), however, question the validity of the results of this study on grounds of the majority of subjects being L1 speakers of French. As the two tested principles work similarly in both English and French, they argue that these principles could not be expected to prove troublesome to NNSs.

Johnson, Shenkman, Newport and Medin (1996) investigated the consistency of acceptability ratings of adult Chinese learners of English on two successive administrations of the same GJT, three weeks apart. The GJT devised by Johnson and Newport (1989) was employed. Results showed adult L2 learners' performance on the two tests to be inconsistent, as opposed to the highly consistent performance of NSs. These results were interpreted as evidence of the indeterminate nature of the adult L2 learner's grammar, proving that L2 learning differs from L1 learning both in possible level of UA and in the nature of the attained knowledge (Johnson et al. 1996:335). Sorace (2003:133), however, points out that the results may have been influenced by the varying levels of proficiency found among the subjects who were assumed to have reached UA on grounds of them having lived in the USA for a period of 5-12 years. The possible

effects of the aural medium of testing as opposed to a written test were also questioned (Sorace 2003:133).²

Upon an exact replication of the earlier Johnson and Newport (1989) study, substituting only the original Korean and Chinese learners of English with Spanish subjects, Birdsong and Molis (2001:235) found “modest evidence of nativelike attainment among late learners”. The influences of the L1 and age, even after puberty, were also attested (Birdsong and Molis 2001:247). Other studies claiming to prove nativelike performance in adult L2 learners a possibility, include those by Bongaerts (1999), Cranshaw (1997) and Van Wuijtswinkel (1994).

Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam (2005:293) conducted a large-scale study of the “perceived and actual (linguistic) nativelikeness” of 195 Swedish / Spanish bilinguals who regarded themselves as NNSs. Their ages at onset of acquisition varied between 1 and 47 years. Upon the completion of listening sessions, NS judges rated only a small number of subjects who had started acquiring their L2 after the age of 12 as nativelike, whilst the majority of those who had started before this age were perceived as NSs. A closer linguistic inspection of the “performance, representation, and processing” of a subset of those who passed as NSs revealed, however, that none of the late learners and few of the early learners had reached true nativelike competence (Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam 2005:250). These results were interpreted as evidence that UA of a nativelike level by adult L2 learners “is, in principle, never attained” and that the percentage of child learners who attain such a level is much less than has previously been assumed (Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam 2005:250). Other studies that have been claimed to show the impossibility of nativelike UA in adult L2A, include those by Bley-Vroman (1989) and Johnson and Newport (1989). For examples of studies that rate the incidence of

² For an argument against indeterminacy as a characteristic of L2 grammars exclusively, see (Birdsong 2006) – Birdsong makes extensive reference to the results of a study by Adams and Ross-Feldman (2003).

nativelikeness in adult learners as fairly high, moderate or null, see Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam (2009:257).

2.4 The influence of bilingualism effects on levels of ultimate attainment

In 1993, Sorace reported on a study that was matched by the later findings of Johnson et al. (1996) in showing incompleteness to be a possible feature of levels of UA in NNSs. It also showed, however, that completeness and systematic divergence are two other possible features thereof (Sorace 2003:133). English and French NNSs of Italian were tested on clitic-climbing and auxiliary selection. The English subjects showed incompleteness in having failed to acquire certain L2 properties, whilst the French subjects showed divergence, i.e. “representations of L2 properties that are consistently different from native representations” (Sorace 2003:135). Both states were thought to be influenced by the subjects’ L1 and constrained by UG (Sorace 2003:135). On grounds of the results of a later study on the phenomenon of optionality, Sorace (2003:131) suggests that both the L1 and L2 competence of a bilingual may differ in non-apparent ways from that of the monolingual NS.

Relating to Sorace (2003), Birdsong (2005:323) states that, “because of the interpenetration of the two language systems – in terms of linguistic processing as well as linguistic representations – it is impossible for either the L1 or the L2 of a bilingual to be identical in all respects to the language of a monolingual”. Accordingly, he argues that some of the divergences from native grammars in NNSs are attributable to the inevitability of bilingualism effects (2005:323). This argument was used to question the validity of using nativelikeness as a standard of measurement in testing the CPH-L2A.

2.5 Research on Universal Grammar accessibility in adult second language acquisition

Some studies of UA have focused specifically on the accessibility of UG during adult L2A. Certain researchers believe in the “withering” of UG, which leaves the learner with access to only those aspects and parameter settings of UG that form part of the L1 grammar (White 2000:133). As description of this view according to which only a “language-specific instantiation of UG” is available to L2 learners, Schachter (1990:99-100) has proposed the term “the Incompleteness Hypothesis”.

Clahsen and Muysken (1986), Schachter (1988, 1989, 1990) and Bley-Vroman (1990) are some of the researchers who have claimed, on grounds of case studies, the principles and parameters of UG to be only partially accessible during L2A — a phenomenon that Schachter (1988) attributes to the end of the critical period. Bley-Vroman (1990) and Schachter (1988) argue that the claim of full access to UG during adult L2A cannot account for the general difference in levels of UA found in L1A and L2A (Schachter 1990:95 – see also, more recently, Bley-Vroman 2009). In a study on the presence or absence of the Subjacency Principle in the L2 grammars of proficient L2 English speakers with L1s that show no, partial or full evidence of this principle, Schachter (1990:118) found differences in the subjects’ ability to recognise Subjacency violations. Only those subjects with Dutch as L1, a language similar to English in terms of Subjacency effects, fared as well as NSs (Schachter 1990:93, 118). These findings were interpreted as support for the Incompleteness Hypothesis and the claim for the consequent incompleteness of adult L2 learners’ grammars (Schachter 1990:118).

Johnson and Newport (1991) suggest that access to UG is subject to a continuous maturational decline and that the UA of adult and child L2 learners are therefore likely to differ. This argument was based on the negative correlation found between age at onset of acquisition and performance on a Subjacency violation test among Chinese learners of English. Other researchers who believe in the inevitability of incompleteness in adult L2

learners' grammars due to no or only partial access to UG, include Epstein, Flynn, and Martohardjono (1996), Gregg (1996), Hawkins and Chan (1997), Eubank and Gregg (1999) and Hawkins (2008).

Others believe L2 learners to have, just like L1 learners, full access to UG (White 2000:133, 2003 – see also Schwartz and Sprouse 1996; Belikova and White 2009 and Song and Schwartz 2009). Flynn (1983), Felix (1985) and White (1988), for example, report not having found any evidence for a lack of access to UG in adult L2A and maintain that the attained grammars are UG-constrained. Opposing the findings of Johnson and Newport (1991), White and Juffs (1998) found that adult Chinese learners of English who had reached a high level of English proficiency did not differ significantly from NSs in their performance on a Subjacency violation test. White and Genesee (1996:258) furthermore argue, on the grounds of their study discussed earlier, that access to UG is not limited by age and that there is no critical period relating to this aspect of language acquisition. This claim was not meant, however, to altogether deny the existence of age effects in L2A (White and Genesee 1996:258). For a fuller overview of arguments on the availability of UG during L2A, see (Birdsong 1992:709) and, for a discussion of the debate on what qualifies as “UG-constrained knowledge”, see (Lardière 1998).

2.6 The ultimate attainment of child second language learners

According to McLaughlin (in Lakshmanan 2006:102), child L2A is commonly understood in the L2A literature to take place after the age of three, but before puberty. Before the age of three, exposure to an L2 would result in bilingual L1A, not child L2A, whilst puberty is widely considered to coincide with the end of the supposed critical period for L2A (Lakshmanan 2006:102). According to Unsworth (2008:2), the UA of L2 children is primarily studied in comparison to that of L2 adults in order to investigate the role of age in L2A. Most of these comparisons focus on whether the two groups attain the same level of UA, or whether the L2A process differs fundamentally in childhood and adulthood due to biological, cognitive and / or sociological factors (Unsworth 2008:4).

Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam (2009:258) suggest that the level of UA of even child L2 learners, as opposed to adult learners alone, differs from that of NSs. In support of this suggestion, they reference, among others, the results of studies conducted by Bialystok and Miller (1999), Flege, Munro and MacKay (1995), Flege, Yeni-Komshian and Liu (1999), Lee, Guion and Harada (2006) and Tsukada, Birdsong, Bialystok, Mack, Sung and Flege (2005), all of which are discussed below.

Bialystok and Miller (1999) measured the accuracy rates and reaction times of native Chinese, Spanish and English speakers on a GJT testing five English structures in both oral and written modes. Subjects were divided into two groups, one having an age at onset of acquisition before 15 years and the other above. NNSs that had arrived in Canada, the country of testing, before the age of eight, matched NSs in accuracy on the GJT by the time they had reached at least university age (1999:143). As the boundary for a critical period in L2A has traditionally been assumed to be around puberty, the researchers avoided over-interpreting these results as proof of such a period ending at the age of eight (1999:143-144). Additionally, the overall results revealed a generally negative correlation between proficiency and age at onset of acquisition across all ages, rather than a marked decrease in proficiency after a specific age (1999:127).

In investigating the relationship between age at onset of acquisition of an L2 and perceived foreign accent, Flege et al. (1995:3125,3132) found that many of the native Italian speakers who had started acquiring English well before what is generally considered to be the end of the critical period, still exhibited a foreign accent. It was estimated that a foreign accent in an L2 may manifest itself at as early an age as 3.1 years (1995:3132). Whilst results did not show the degree of perceived foreign accent to increase significantly after the end of the critical period, it did support the view that,

“after a certain age, very few if any individuals will manage to speak their L2 without a trace of foreign accent” (1995:3132).³

In a study investigating the relationship between the supposed critical period for L2A, foreign accent and morphosyntactic knowledge, Flege et al. (1999:78) employed 240 native Korean speakers with an age at onset of acquisition between one and 23 years. Whilst an increase in age coincided with an increase in foreign accent and decrease in morphosyntactic accuracy, the two phenomena were attributed to different underlying causes (1999:100). Phonology was hypothesised to be influenced by age at onset of acquisition due to brain maturation or changes in the nature of the interaction between the L1 and L2 phonological systems (1999:101). Morphosyntax, however, was deemed to be influenced by age at onset of acquisition on grounds of the latter correlating with differences in education and language use (1999:101). This hypothesis was based on the assumption that knowledge of the generalisable aspects of morphosyntax is likely to be improved by formal education and that the more the use of the L1 is sustained, the more likely the chances of it influencing the type of knowledge that develops for lexical aspects of the L2 morphosyntax (1999:100). Phonology, but not morphosyntax, thus seems to be influenced by a maturationally defined period (1999:101).

Lee et al. (2006:487) investigated the production of unstressed vowels in English by native Korean and Japanese speakers. Both early and late bilinguals were considered, the prior having had their first significant exposure to an English-speaking environment before the age of six and the latter after the age of 15 (2006:496). All of the subjects had reached an advanced level of UA and used English on a daily basis (2006:496). The effect of the L1 phonological system on the acquisition of “phonetic cues” to English unstressed vowels was found to be regulated by age at onset of acquisition (2006:508). Differences in the production characteristics of the two early groups were mostly

³ For this reason, among others, perceived foreign accent will not be investigated in the current study as a non-native feature worth improving through explicit instruction.

traceable to differences in their L1s (2006:508). Whilst the early rather than late learners' production tended more towards that of NSs, their production was still not "completely nativelike" (2006:508).

Tsukada et al. (2005) investigated NSs of Korean's perception and production of English vowels in comparison to that of NSs of English. In doing so, the study aimed to evaluate the traditional view of children being "rapid and successful learners" of an L2 in opposition to adult L2 learning being "slow and imperfect" (2005:283). Results showed native Korean children to outperform native Korean adults in discriminating between and producing English vowels (2005:263). Whereas the adults failed to match the NSs of English in both perception and production, the children largely matched child NSs of English in production, but not perception (2005:286). If, as postulated by Scovel (in Tsukada et al. 2005:284), there is a critical period for L2A that ends at the age of 12, the child-adult differences in this study should be attributable to the fact that the majority of the children started learning the L2 before the age of 12, whilst all the adults started after 12 (2005:284). However, a comparison between the children who had started learning the L2 after the end of the supposed critical period (the mean age of this group being 15.6) and those who had started before the end of this period (the mean age of this group being 10.5), revealed no significant differences between the groups in either perception or production (2005:284). Rather, much as in the study by Flege et al. (1999), the researchers suggested the differences to be attributable to age-related differences in input and / or in the interaction between the L1 and L2 phonetic systems (2005:284-285).

Despite the many controversies that research results have revealed in terms of the role of age in L2A, it remains an important point of investigation for developing more accurate theories of L2A and informing decisions relating to language-in-education policy and language pedagogy (Larsen-Freeman and Long in Ellis 1994:485). Showing that a difference between younger and older L2 learners exists, will cast doubt on the hypothesis that adults have sustained UG access, whilst the case for starting foreign

language education at a young age will be strengthened by showing younger learners to fare better than older learners (Ellis 1994:485). Additionally, showing that children and adults differ in the manner that they learn will call for a revision of current language teaching techniques and approaches to suit the two different types of learners (Ellis 1994:485). The latter two of the abovementioned possible outcomes of age-related research in L2A will be of value in determining the best stage and manner in which to introduce South African learners to instruction in the English language, hence the attempt to contribute, through the current study, to this specific body of research.

CHAPTER 3

Literature review:

The power of English, language-in-education policy in South Africa, and explicit language instruction

Serving as introduction to this chapter, is a discussion of the power of English as a global language. Narrowing the scope to a national level, the sociolinguistic profile of South Africa will be described to serve as background for a summary of the South African language-in-education policy (LiEP) over the centuries. Following this, the 1996 constitutional recognition of language rights and the 1997 introduction of the current LiEP and Curriculum 2005 will be discussed. This leads to an in-depth description of the *de facto* situation of language in education in South Africa today.

Next, the chapter will provide an overview of attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction in South African schools. This will be followed by a section on two of the proposed solutions for the problem of deciding on and implementing decisions regarding media of instruction in South Africa. The solutions to be discussed are the choice and implementation of mother tongue education (MTE), on the one hand, and bilingual education, on the other. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a section on the value of explicit language instruction.

3.1 The power of English

3.1.1 Different perspectives on the global hegemony of English

A common perception in Africa is that European languages are, due to their global currency, the only languages through which non-Europeans can realise development

(Phillipson, in Sigcau 2004:245). English, specifically, is regarded as a language of power and prestige, enabling success in terms of employment, participation in the national and global economy and social recognition (Sigcau 2004:245). This viewpoint is largely a result of colonialism that saw to the idealisation of colonial languages and the simultaneous marginalisation and stigmatisation of indigenous languages (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1995:337). In British colonial times, education soon became synonymous with proficiency in English accompanied by a rejection of indigenous languages and cultures (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1995:337). In Nigeria today, the use of English in public awards the speaker a coveted position in a special, high status “class” of Nigerians, irrespective of their ethnicity or mother tongue (Rassool 2007a:141). The British empire’s spread into Africa thus clearly brought with it linguistic imperialism, described by Ansre (in Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1995:339) as

... the phenomenon in which the minds and lives of the speakers of a language are dominated by another language to the point where they believe that they can and should use only that foreign language when it comes to transactions dealing with the more advanced aspects of life such as education, philosophy, literature, governments, the administration of justice, etc. ... Linguistic imperialism has a subtle way of warping the minds, attitudes and aspirations of even the most noble in a society ...

The current position of English as a global language serves to uphold and, in the eyes of some, even justify the above phenomenon. Tanzanian parents who want their children to attend English-medium schools today, for example, do so in the firm belief that “English is the language of the global village” (Brock-Utne 2002:7). This positive evaluation of English is not, however, limited to Africa. In India and Malaysia, for example, the perceived link between English and modernisation and globalisation has rendered it by far the most desired medium of instruction for basic and higher education in the eyes of parents (Lin and Martin 2005:3). In Singapore and Hong Kong, English adhering to Anglo norms is vital to socio-economic advancement in enabling access to higher education and “the globalised, knowledge-intensive job market” (Lin and Martin 2005:3).

Even as far as Turkey and Iran, English proficiency is increasingly regarded as both prestigious and valuable in the current context of globalisation (Lin and Martin 2005:3). That English has already spread globally to this extent and that it continues to do so today is often justified by arguments claiming the spread to be natural, neutral and beneficial (Pennycook 1995:36-37).

At the end of the previous century, the total number of English speakers in the world was estimated at between 700 million and 1 billion, roughly ten times the number estimated a hundred years before (Pennycook 1995:36). This total is made up of fairly equal numbers of people who speak English as a native, second (i.e. intranational) or foreign (i.e. international) language (Pennycook 1995:36)⁴.

As a postcolonial country with, amongst others, a British heritage, multilingual South Africa has not been left unaffected by the global spread of English. A high level of English proficiency is a prerequisite for attaining any kind of upward social and political mobility in this country. Ironically, this required standard is not made attainable by the current South African educational system, despite it being regarded as the “sole linguistic yardstick for educational success” (Heugh 2007:212-213). Contrary to expectations, fewer people in democratic South Africa (since 1994) than in apartheid South Africa (1948 – 1994) have the opportunity to attain a high level of English proficiency. This is ascribed to declining English literacy levels and the high emigration rates of 25-44 year olds, the age group with the highest levels of English proficiency (Heugh 2007:200). Instead of the language of access it is widely believed to be, English is, unintentionally, fast becoming an instrument of exclusion in the hands of the linguistic power elite. The latter is a group that is diminishing in size and whose members, once largely L1 speakers of English, are fast being replaced by L2 speakers (Heugh 2007:201). According to

⁴ These numbers do not differentiate between the various new forms of English, i.e. new Englishes, that have been generated as a result of language contact. Debates on the legitimacy of these variant forms and the desirability (or not) of attempting to uphold Anglo norms are rife (cf. Pennycook 1995), but this study will not engage in them.

Rassool (2007b:251), this phenomenon of English functioning as a language of vertical control in South Africa, is typical of a general pattern followed by ex-colonial languages in postcolonial societies.

The global spread of English is thus clearly not without negative implications. A number of scholars have criticised this phenomenon. Firstly, Pennycook (1995:39) identifies one common point of criticism as the threat that English poses to the survival of indigenous languages. The concern is that wider distribution of English may lead to what Day (in Pennycook 1995:39) first termed “linguistic genocide”. Secondly, Pennycook (1995:40) notes the often-cited role of English as gatekeeper to socio-economic advancement, serving either to exclude individuals / groups from or to include them in higher education, better employment and social prestige. Cooke (in Pennycook 1995:39), for example, regards English as a Trojan horse in the sense that it is a language of imperialism which serves the interests of certain social classes only. Consequently, there is a strong school of thought that deems the English language an instrument of creating and maintaining social, political and economic inequalities across the globe. Phillipson (in Pennycook 1995:43), for example, is one such proponent who associates the spread of English with “linguicism”, i.e. “the ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of their language (i.e. of their mother tongue)”.

In opposition to the above criticism, a number of scholars have devoted much attention to proving that such overly negative valuation of English is presently not justified in all circumstances and that its international currency need not lead to the exclusion of other languages. In a study debunking the myth that English is the only medium of instruction that can guarantee economic success, García (1995:142) notes that in the U.S.A. there is a common perception that only English monolinguals are privy to success. Her study shows, however, that the high rate of linguistic assimilation of African-Americans and

the Latino group overall, has done little to bring them economic success. On the contrary, the Latino subgroup that displays the lowest degree of linguistic assimilation, i.e. the Cuban-Americans, have proven to be the most financially affluent (García 1995:147). This study proves that bilingualism, as opposed to English monolingualism, may in fact be a valuable economic resource, even in the largely monolingual, English dominant USA (García 1995:157).

According to Heugh (2007:212), it is a misconception that English will necessarily continue to serve as the only language of wider communication (LWC) and participation in regional and global economies.⁵ South Africa's role in the UN's New Partnership for Africa's Development and the increasing numbers of French-, Portuguese-, Arabic-, Hausa- and Kiswahili-speaking immigrants from elsewhere in Africa, are referred to in support of this argument. Whilst South Africa appears still to be unaware of this development, Heugh (2007:212) argues, other African countries have "a fairly sophisticated understanding ... that several LWCs are advisable and necessary for trade and diplomacy". Francophone and Lusophone countries have, for example, started to include other LWCs in their education systems alongside French and Portuguese (Heugh 2007:212). In a similar vein, Sigcau (2004:246) argues against the perceived omnipotence of English, by pointing out that there are many countries such as China, Japan, Korea, Italy and Norway that have achieved a developed state not through English, but through indigenous languages. According to Sigcau (2004:252), if the yearned for African renaissance is ever to be achieved, it will have to be founded on the use of African languages as media of instruction in education and not on English only.

Lastly, that English will forever retain its current status as *the* global language in perpetuity is not assured. As Rassool (2007:147) points out, there is no guarantee that its hegemony will not be challenged in future by other international languages, such as

⁵ Note that many sources use the term "lingua franca" to communicate the same concept conveyed here by the term "language of wider communication".

Mandarin Chinese. If China continues to develop as an important global economic power, the economic currency of its language might eventually overtake that of English.

3.1.2 English as a counter-hegemonic instrument of resistance

Although one can trace its origin in many countries to colonialism, and can identify it as an instrument of neo-colonialism, English has in these very countries, often served as an instrument of resistance against oppression. The nationalist struggle in India that preceded the Partition in 1947 is one such an example where English was the medium of counter-hegemonic discourse (Rassool 2007b:255). The independence history of the Caribbean provides another such example (Rassool 2007a:143). In Africa, English, one of the primary languages of colonialism, has served Africans ironically in giving them a voice to oppose the “oppression, racism and cultural imperialism” inflicted upon them by colonialists (Pennycook 1995:51).

In South Africa, organised resistance to “white” dominance through the medium of English started under the influence of Abdurahman in 1912 (Heugh 2007:201). This practice of using English continued over the following 80 years in various resistance organisations (Heugh 2007:201). English empowered the oppressed by providing them with a way to resist the campaign for the hegemony of Afrikaans that had become a part of the daily South African reality even after 1948 (Rassool 2007a:143). English increasingly came to symbolise freedom as the association between Afrikaans and Nationalist Afrikaner oppression strengthened (Heugh 2007:201-202). According to Rassool (2007b:255), it is this association with empowerment during the anti-apartheid struggle that has secured English its high societal status in South Africa to this day.

As neither its colonial origin nor its power could be denied, English took the form of “a double-edged sword” in the hands of those fighting against apartheid domination in South Africa (Rassool 2007a:143). This, Rassool (2007b:256) argues, was a case of an ex-

colonial language being “incorporated into a different ideological framework, in which it was imbued with power grounded in a reflexive process of self-definition.”

Upon reaching independence, ex-colonial languages are generally, as is the case in South Africa, retained to serve new functions in the postcolonial context. According to Rassool (2007:144), they are largely regarded as “a pragmatic means” of creating national unity through their neutrality as languages without indigenous ethnic or cultural ties, of affording access to the global domains of politics and economics and of aiding modernisation in these as well as the social domain.

3.2 The sociolinguistic profile of South Africa

Information on the South African language profile made available by the 1996 and 2001 national censuses and the National Sociolinguistic Survey conducted by PANSALB in 2000, has revealed isiZulu, isiXhosa, Afrikaans and English to be the most frequently used languages (Heugh 2007:190). Contrary to common belief, English is not “*the* lingua franca” in South Africa — in fact, there is no apparent, single lingua franca (Heugh 2007:190-191). On grounds of numbers recording the main languages used for neighbourhood communication, English can function, at most, as one of three lingua francas in the Western Cape (along with Afrikaans and isiXhosa) and Gauteng (along with Afrikaans and isiZulu), and as one of two lingua francas in KwaZulu-Natal (along with isiZulu) (Heugh 2007:194). Whilst only 12% of the population has English as either home language or main language of local communication, it does, however, predominate as second or third alternative to the main language of local communication (Heugh 2007:192). It is also by far the most common language among the politically and economically influential (Alexander and Webb, in Heugh 2007:192).

In regards to fluency, however, the PANSALB figures show isiZulu, followed by Afrikaans and then isiXhosa, to be the most highly rated languages (Heugh 2007:193).

Only 10% of the population regard English as the language in which they are most proficient (Heugh 2007:193). This calls into question the productivity of the English-medium schooling system, seeing as approximately 75% of students are subject to this system and all students except Afrikaans L1 speakers write examinations in English (Heugh 2007:193).

Furthermore, the fact that the majority of messages from Government to the masses is in English, means that 47% of South Africans do not understand this information and, as a result, are ignorant of their constitutional rights (Heugh 2007:194). This number includes over 60% of L1 speakers of African languages, ranging from 83% of Venda speakers to 43% of isiXhosa speakers (PANSALB, in Heugh 2007:194). Such data support Heugh's (2007:205) statement that "the perception/hope that English might provide access to the bounty of the new democracy is not being borne out in reality". It is also one of the reasons Sigcau (2004:247) advocates MTE, which will enable today's African learners, the "administrators of tomorrow", to provide the majority of South Africans who are not proficient in English with services in the languages that they do understand.

3.3 The South African language-in-education policy over the centuries

In the words of Tollefson (1995:2), "language policies are both an outcome of power struggles and an arena for those struggles". This certainly seems to be the case in South Africa. In this country, colonisation brought with it first Dutchification policies with the arrival of the Dutch East India Company in 1652, then British Anglicisation policies from 1795 through the 19th century (Heugh 2007:198; Probyn 2005:153). During the latter century, the state schooling system employed MTE for "white" and some "coloured" children in primary school, typically followed by a change to English medium for Dutch / Afrikaans pupils at secondary level (Heugh 2007:198). The limited missionary-led education African pupils were relegated to, took the form of MTE in the first four to six years, also followed by a change to English-medium (Heugh 2007:198).

The second half of the 19th century saw the popularisation of bilingual Dutch / Afrikaans-English schools, especially at secondary level. Negotiations between the British and the Boers lead to The Union of South Africa (1909-1910) awarding official status to both English and Dutch, the latter being replaced by Afrikaans in 1925 (Heugh 2007:198). Pressure to end bilingual schooling, however, soon resulted from animosity between the British and the Boers following the Anglo-Boer War and the rise of Afrikaner nationalism (Heugh 2007:198). With the National Party's election to power in 1948 and the consequent introduction of apartheid, the ideology of segregation was disseminated even through the LiEP, with bilingual schooling being discouraged and speakers of different languages being restricted to specific, distinct rural areas (Heugh 2007:199). This system of separate development was meant to promote indigenous instruction and led to language boards being erected to develop the needed terminology for publishing textbooks in each vernacular language (Sigcau 2004:241).

In 1953, MTE for African pupils was extended to eight years as part of the Bantu Education Act⁶, causing MTE to have, to this day, a negative connotation because of its association with apartheid ideology (Heugh 2007:199; Probyn 2005:154 and Mbude-Shale 2004:156). Although this aligned with the 1953 UNESCO report recommending MTE for initial education, the underlying motivation was a thinly veiled political agenda of separating and suppressing African education, evident in the words of H.F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs in 1953 and later Minister of Bantu Education:

When I have control over native⁷ education, I will reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them. (Christie, in Probyn 2005:154)

⁶ For more information on the Bantu Education Act of 1953, see (Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh 2004).

⁷ Note that, in this context, the term “native” refers to the people born and living in South Africa, who belong to the race or tribe that constitutes the majority of the country, now commonly referred to as “blacks” or “Africans”.

Ironically, under the Bantu Education system, MTE for the first eight years of schooling resulted in the steady rise of pass rates, reaching its highest percentage in 1976, the year it was abolished (Brock-Utne 2002:16). Nevertheless, the educational advantages of MTE were overshadowed by African learners' realisation that the system was politically motivated and structured to benefit Afrikaner nationalism (Sigcau 2004:241). Suspicions that MTE for Africans was actually a strategy to delay exposure to English, regarded as the only vehicle to modernity, were abundant (Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh 2004:183).

Important to note, however, is Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh's (2004:181) observation of the possibility that Bantu Education might have been a confluence of two parallel processes motivated by two different ideological bases. On the one hand, there was the politically-driven provision of separate and unequal education for African learners, but on the other there was the well-intended development of subject terminology and textbooks in African languages by committed specialists, often L1 speakers of African languages themselves (Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh 2004:181). The commonly held belief that Bantu Education presented African learners with a "cognitively inferior ('watered-down') curriculum", is furthermore challenged by Mahlalela's comparison of the content of English- and African language-medium textbooks used in schools before 1975, which speaks to the contrary (Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh 2004:199).

In 1975, the apartheid government attempted to impose a dual-medium system on African secondary schools in which one half of content subjects were to be taught through the medium of English and the other through Afrikaans (Probyn 2005:154). This led to the infamous Soweto student uprising the year later, aimed against the use of Afrikaans as one of the mandatory media of instruction (Sigcau 2004:241). The result was that Government was forced to pass the Education and Training Act in 1979, thereby reducing MTE to four years, followed by the option of either Afrikaans- or English-medium instruction (Heugh 2007:199 and Brock-Utne 2002:16). Predictably, most schools chose English (Brock-Utne 2002:16).

According to Probyn (2005:154), the Soweto student uprising signaled the start of 20 years of political resistance, in which schools frequently became an arena of conflict. From this point on, there was a clear antagonism towards Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor, resulting in what Heugh (2007:199) terms “a consequential pendulum swing towards assimilation to English”. According to official statistics, by the mid-1980s, 96% of all “black” South African learners were receiving instruction via the medium of English from grade 4 onwards (Sigcau 2004:241). What this move away from MTE coincided with, however, was the steady dropping of pass rates to as low as 48.3% in 1982 and 44% by 1992 (Heugh in Brock-Utne 2002:16). Still, the change from Afrikaans-English dual-medium education to English alone, and the use of English as a lingua franca in the struggle against colonial powers, crowned English in the eyes of the masses as the tongue that promised political liberation (Heugh, in Probyn 2005:154). It had become an instrument of counter-hegemonic discourse, the carrier of a suppressed people’s dreams of freedom.

3.4 The 1996 constitutional recognition of language rights

With the dawn of democracy in 1994, the new government set about remedying past inequalities, attempting to bring about the requisite social, political and economic reform for re-entering the global economy (Probyn 2005:155). As part of this process, the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) included a number of clauses that support the global recognition of language as a fundamental human right (Oosthuizen 2004:1). Clause 9(3), for example, determined that no-one is to be directly or indirectly discriminated against on grounds of, among other things, language, and clause 29(2) that it is the right of every individual to be provided with education in the official language(s) of their choice at public educational institutions, “where that education is reasonably practicable”.

The complex decision of which languages to award official status to was largely informed by the general principle that the status and rights that a language enjoyed before democracy were not to be diminished or removed (Oosthuizen 2004:1). This led to the constitutional recognition of 11 official national languages, namely Afrikaans and English, which had enjoyed official national status since the Union of South Africa (1909-1910), and those languages which had been awarded official homeland status during the apartheid years, i.e. isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele, siSwati, Sesotho sa Leboa, Sesotho, Setswana, Tshivenda and Xitsonga (Heugh 2007:189). This selection was furthermore supported by the fact that more than 98% of the population had one of these 11 languages as home language or L1 (Oosthuizen 2004:2).

As the use of all 11 official languages in all governmental communication would be impractical, costly and blind to the language preferences of speakers in specific areas (Oosthuizen 2004:2), clause 6(3) of the Constitution determines that both national and provincial governments are to use at least two of any of the 11 official languages and that this choice should be governed by considerations such as costs, demographics, preferences and needs. In the Western Cape, the province in which the current study was conducted, the languages with official provincial status are Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa (Oosthuizen 2004:2).

According to Probyn (2005:155), the recognition of 11 official languages was little more than a symbolic act, as the actual role of indigenous languages in public affairs has not improved since democratisation, whilst English, the language of greatest economic currency in South Africa, has come to dominate even Afrikaans. Heugh (2007:213) supports Probyn in claiming that the “expansion and flattening of linguistic hegemony” that the new national language policy was supposed to achieve, is yet to take place. On the contrary, where the ruling minority used to occupy a bilingual Afrikaans-English space, the now smaller ruling minority occupies an English-monolingual space (Heugh 2007:213). African language speakers’ resentment towards Afrikaans as the language of

the former oppressor is widely regarded as the reason for English becoming the default language of power, a phenomenon that has, ironically, served to further exclude rather than include the previously oppressed masses (Heugh 2007:200).

3.5 The introduction of a new language-in-education policy and Curriculum 2005

As part of attempts at educational reform, 1997 saw the introduction of a new LiEP and a new outcomes-based curriculum known as Curriculum 2005⁸ (Probyn 2005:155). The prior was formulated in line with the National Education Policy Act of 1996. Its general aim was to promote a unified South Africa by aiding cross-cultural and cross-racial communication (Sigcau 2004:243). According to Mbude-Shale, Wababa and Plüddemann (2004:153), those who the LiEP were aimed at, were “African-language-speaking communities scarred by the historical abuse of mother-tongue education under apartheid, and held in thrall by the status of English in higher education, the job market, Parliament, the print media, and the global village.” Clause 4.1.1 of the LiEP (1997) specifically tasks the Department of Education with the promotion of multilingualism and respect for all languages used in the country, as well as the development of all 11 official languages. According to clause 4.1.5,

... the underlying principle [of the LiEP – AP] is to maintain home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s). Hence, the Department’s position that an additive approach to bilingualism⁹ is to be seen as the normal orientation of our language-in-education policy ...

⁸ Heugh 2007:209-210) offers a brief description of the assessment criteria employed in Curriculum 2005, specifically that in the Language Learning Area statement for First Additional Language (i.e. English for the majority of learners). Additionally, note that, on 5 November 2009, Minister of Basic Education Angie Motshekga announced in parliament that outcomes-based education no longer existed as much of the protocol involved in this model of education had been abandoned, but amended her statement the following day by stating that the system was not to be phased out completely (Author unknown 2009:1). No policy changes have, however, been made as yet.

⁹ According to García (2009:142) additive bilingualism involves the acquisition of an L2 without it in any way leading to a loss of the speaker’s L1. In subtractive bilingualism, on the other hand, the L2 is acquired at the cost of the L1, with the latter being taken away as the L2 is added until a state of L2 monolingualism is reached (García 2009:142). According to Heugh and October (2005:23), additive bilingual educational

The above approach, then, was deemed the most likely to meet the goal of the LiEP summarised in clause 4.3.2, namely “to pursue the language policy most supportive of general conceptual growth”. Clause 5.3.1 of the Norms and Standards Regarding Language Policy document furthermore made it clear that it was the responsibility of school governing bodies to establish a school language policy that promotes multilingualism through, among other means, the use of more than one language of learning and teaching and / or the offering of additional languages as subjects (Heugh and October 2005:15).

In 2002, a Revised National Curriculum Statement grades R-9, including what Heugh (2007:208) terms a “restrictive, transitional misinterpretation of the language policy”, was released. In essence, the additive bilingualism approach was replaced, on paper, by the very transitional-subtractive bilingual system that marked African education in the final years of apartheid (Heugh 2007:208). This system entails mother-tongue education until grade 3, followed by an assumed change to English-medium for all learners, except L1 speakers of Afrikaans, who have the option of continuing in their mother tongue (Heugh 2007:208). This changeover to English occurs, on paper, one year earlier than in the late apartheid years. What this means, is that African learners are currently even more restricted when it comes to L1 literacy and conceptual development than they were under the previous regime (Heugh 2007:208).

In the Western Cape, isiXhosa is not used as a medium of instruction beyond grade 3, despite recommendations by the Western Cape Language Act that three languages, namely Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa, be used in schools (Sigcau 2004:240). In fact, none of the schools in the Western Cape Department of Education employ isiXhosa as medium of instruction up to grade 12 (Sigcau 2004:242). In the case of isiXhosa learners,

models maintain the mother tongue as medium of instruction throughout the school years, with the possibility of adding a second medium of instruction that is not used for more than 50% of the school day from grades 5-6 onwards.

English is used as the medium of instruction after grade 3, despite many of the learners and even teachers not being sufficiently proficient in the language (Sigcau 2004:242).

As there is convincing evidence that learners perform best in their mother tongue (cf. Desai 2003; Heugh 1995; McKay and De Klerk 1996; National Education Policy Institute (NEPI) 1992; Sentson 1994 and Webb 1999), the current *de facto* system denies isiXhosa learners the same performance opportunities as English and Afrikaans learners who have the luxury of MTE, often up until tertiary level (Nomlomo 2004:131 and Sigcau 2004:240). According to Sigcau (2004:240), this system furthermore entails a violation of human rights in not ensuring that learners receive instruction in the language they understand best. The extra 1,05% isiXhosa learners are awarded in each content subject for not being able to learn through their mother tongue (Sigcau 2004:242), thus offers little compensation for a clearly biased system. As Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (in Sigcau 2004:242-243) argue, “education cannot possibly be equitable and non-discriminatory” when learners and teachers are forced to use as medium of instruction a language in which they are not proficient.

Although the LiEP is informed by research proving increased MTE in an additive bilingual system to be the approach most likely to support cognitive development and successful L2A, this knowledge has unfortunately not been sufficiently communicated to parents and teachers outside of academic circles (Probyn 2005:158). Additionally, Curriculum 2005 enforces no necessary change from the previous curriculum in terms of medium of instruction — pupils have to take as subjects throughout their school years their home language and one other official language, with one of these functioning as the language of learning and teaching (LoLT), i.e. as the medium of instruction (Probyn 2005:159). Essentially, this means that teachers may continue using English as medium of instruction throughout the school years without any use of the mother tongue as language of learning, except in the language classroom. If this happens, and indications

are that it already has, South Africa is regressing to the English-monolingual system of the apartheid years.

This loophole, along with the generally toothless nature of the LiEP and the abovementioned ignorance among the majority of parents and teachers of the advantages of MTE, are some of the reasons why the supposedly reformed educational system is failing to provide the newly enfranchised South African youth with the long sought-after access to upward socio-economic mobility. Instead of seeing the educational outcomes among the previously disadvantaged bettered under the new regime, indications are that they are in fact worsening (Heugh 2007:210). Alexander (in Brock-Utne 2002:12) places much of the blame for this on Government, stating that “[t]here is a lack of political will on the part of the current government to have our progressive language policy work”.

3.6 The *de facto* situation surrounding language-in-education policy

As Heugh (2007:188) succinctly puts it, the national Department of Education “has both procrastinated and prevaricated” over the implementation of the 1997 LiEP that holds the potential for transformation. Despite MTE being recommended by NEPI in 1992, the Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG) in 1996, the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) in 1997 and the Government Public Report in 2000, Government is yet to make it a reality (Sigcau 2004:243). Meanwhile, proficiency in English, the supposed medium of instruction, also seems elusive in the current educational system. That African grade 12 learners lack English proficiency, and that this adversely affects their performance in exams, was made evident by the Minister of Education’s announcement in 2001 that grade 12 question papers were to be made available in all official African languages, whilst answers were to be supplied in English (Sigcau 2004:243). Meanwhile,

[...] while the DoE is printing more school-leaving certificates, the catastrophic literacy and proficiency levels of students in English (now the only language of

access to tertiary education, the formal economy and the civil service) means that educational transformation is an illusion. (Heugh 2007:213)

According to Bamgbose (in Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kanagas 1995:335), this type of “declaration without implementation” that we find in South Africa is just one of the typical characteristics of language policies in Africa. Apart from the latter often simply being avoided, they are also known to be vague and unstable. To gain an understanding of the possible reasons for lack of implementation of the LiEP in South Africa, it is necessary to first take into consideration the linguistic context of South African schools.

3.6.1 The linguistic context of South African schools

Approximately 80% of pupils in South Africa attend schools in townships and rural areas that were previously reserved for African pupils, but still have the same linguistic and racial profile today (Probyn 2005:156). The few parents who are financially capable of doing so have moved their children to formerly “white” or “coloured” schools that have better resources, so replacing former racial segregation with class-based segregation (Probyn 2005:156).

African schools in rural areas mostly consist of teachers and pupils who are of the same race and who speak a common home language (Heugh, in Probyn 2005:157). Despite the very limited exposure pupils have to English outside the school context, English is the medium of instruction in the majority of these schools from at least grade 4 (Probyn 2005:157). Opportunities for the informal acquisition of English are severely limited for the 57% of South African pupils who live in these rural areas (Probyn 2005:157). In metropolitan schools, classrooms reflect the linguistic diversity found in the feeder-communities, resulting in the use of English as a (supposed) lingua franca from as early as grade 1 (Probyn 2005:157). Apart from the English possibly heard on the television and radio, children in urban townships also have limited exposure to L1 speakers of

English due to the demographic profile of these areas (Probyn 2005:157). Access to English in its written form is also severely limited, with only 10% of parents in a national survey of grade 4 pupils indicating that they purchase newspapers and magazines and more than 50% having access to fewer than 10 books (Strauss, in Probyn 2005:157). Over and above the constant shortage of textbooks, 83% of schools in South Africa furthermore do not have libraries (Bot and Shindler, in Probyn 2005:157).

Research suggests that, inside the classroom, pupils' opportunities to develop their English proficiency, a vital instrument in achieving academic success in an English-medium system, are hampered by teachers' own low levels of English proficiency and the limited amount of reading and writing that actually takes place (Taylor and Vinjevold, in Probyn 2005:157). With the switch to English-medium now taking place in grade 4, learners are forced to study eight subjects in a language in which they are often not proficient.

What happens in this case, as a study by the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA) in two primary schools in greater Cape Town revealed, is that both the mother tongue and English are unofficially used in unequal parts (Mbude-Shale et al. 2004:159). In the given schools, English was mainly used in the written mode, whilst isiXhosa was used exclusively in the oral (Mbude-Shale 2004:159). Brock-Utne (2005:188-189) found a similar phenomenon in a study of classrooms in the Western Cape: lessons were conducted mainly in isiXhosa, but learners were expected to do all the writing for content subjects as well as exams in English. To make matters worse, the early switchover to English often leaves learners without sufficient competence in both their L1 and their L2, as the paucity of A and B symbols for isiXhosa among isiXhosa L1 matric learners has shown (Sigcau 2004:245). Such systems of foreign language instruction without support for the L1 have been shown to impact negatively on learners' cognitive development and consequent academic performance (Granville et al., in Sigcau 2004:245 and Nomlomo 2004:145).

This evidence seems to support the Threshold Hypothesis put forth by Cummins (2000:37), according to which “there may be threshold levels of proficiency in both languages which [bilingual – AP] students must attain in order to maximize the cognitive, academic, and linguistic stimulation they extract from social and academic interactions with their environment”. To ensure increased cognitive, academic and linguistic growth, it is crucial that *both* languages, including literacy skills therein, be developed to the point of additive bilingualism (Cummins 2000:37). Conversely, a low level of L1 and L2 literacy will reduce learners’ capacity for understanding complex instruction in the L2, which in turn negatively affects academic development (Cummins 2000:37).

3.6.2 Formal and informal school language policies

As explanation for the general lack of formal school language policies that adhere to the recommendations made in the LiEP (1997), Probyn (2005:160) suggests a number of possibilities. Firstly, the introduction and implementation of Curriculum 2005 at the same time as the LiEP, combined with provincial education departments’ poor communication of the LiEP to schools, resulted in the latter being confused with and / or overshadowed by the new curriculum. Mbude-Shale et al. (2004:154) make a similar point in blaming the lack of consistency between the new curriculum and LiEP for the failed “integrated curricular transformation of schooling”, in that Curriculum 2005 seems to suggest English as the default medium of education. A second point made by Probyn (2005:160) is that the majority of school governing bodies responsible for drawing up their school language policy, especially those in poor, largely illiterate communities, are inefficient and restricted by a shortage of resources. Lastly, teachers’ effective engagement with new policies has been hampered by the process of redeployment started in 1997 at the cost of stability in schools (Probyn 2005:160).

Reporting on the informal language policies that may be observed in schools, Probyn (2005:161) notes that, where changes have been made, the result was generally to extend the use of English as medium of instruction, in direct opposition to the recommendations

of the LiEP. Essentially, schools have reverted to the same system as that prevalent before democratisation, i.e. English-medium from grade 4 onwards (Nomlomo 2004:131). In reality, it is reading, writing and assessment that are done in English, whilst the majority of interaction in African schools takes place in the learners' home language (Probyn 2005:163). As learners generally have a poor understanding of the English textbooks, teachers often provide them with notes that they study through rote memorisation and regurgitate for assessment purposes. Such a system is not conducive to independent reading, the assimilation of knowledge and, consequently, learning, but to a reliance on the teacher (Probyn 2005:162).

Banda (2003:73) makes a similar observation in a study of isiXhosa-English university students. Interviews with the students revealed that their primary and secondary school teachers had, in an attempt at helping them deal with their L2 academic work, often simply taught in isiXhosa or mediated¹⁰ the work through the use of isiXhosa (Banda 2003:73). Contrary to teachers' expectations, this did not promote learning as the translation process was done for the learners, encouraging a dependency on the teachers to do the "thinking" that forms part of the translation and reconstruction of academic material (Banda 2003:73). Banda (2003:73) argues that it is the resultant "unsystematic 'Xhosalisation' of English texts" by learners who have not themselves acquired the necessary skills to systematically translate between English and isiXhosa that partially explains the problems they have with "transforming and recontextualising academic knowledge" between two languages. In support of this argument, Banda (2003:79) notes that the university students in his study were mostly incapable of paraphrasing their understanding of a concept in the L2 beyond the point of supplying a synonym by, for example, referring to examples. If learners are to develop the skills to use translation as literacy mediation, Banda (2003:85) argues, it is imperative that they be taught the necessary strategies by well-trained bilingual teachers who can facilitate the process.

¹⁰ Banda (2003:69) defines "mediation" as involving the "closing [of – AP] an information gap or *distance*, as well as the *difference* in power/knowledge and socio-cultural and psychological distance."

Nomlomo (2004:131) refers to a number of studies that have proven African learners to perform poorly in subjects taught through the medium of English, whilst their performance in their mother tongue outstrips their performance in English. As Rassool (2007b:254) makes evident, learners who are assessed in a language that they are not proficient in are at a distinct disadvantage compared to those who are assessed in a language that they are proficient in, understand and use daily. Adding to the severity of this situation is the extra time demanded by attempting to teach and learn in a language in which both teachers and learners do not have sufficient competence, often resulting in the non-completion of the syllabus (Probyn 2005:162). It consequently comes as no great surprise that “white” schools consistently outperform “black” schools in examinations (Nomlomo 2004:136).¹¹

Concurring with a statement first made by Obanya, Brock-Utne (2005:173) argues that African children’s primary problem with learning is linguistic — because they are educated in a language that they do not understand and rarely have exposure to outside the classroom, they are unfairly “stamped as dumb”. To add injury to insult, this system is negatively impacting on the African child’s self-respect and self-identity. As Roy-Campbell (in Brock-Utne 2005:180) warns, “[o]ne cannot overstate the damage being effected upon the psyche of African children being forced to access knowledge through a language in which they lack adequate proficiency and upon the nation which produces a majority of semi-literates who are competent neither in their own language nor in the educational language.”

3.6.3 Teacher inadequacy and the use of code-switching

In 1999, Strauss (in Heugh 2007:210) calculated 40% of teachers as having only primary education and only 43% as having three or more years of post-secondary school education. In 2001, the South African Institute for Race Relations (in Heugh 2007:210)

¹¹ See October (2002) for an account of how African language speakers were outperformed by Afrikaans and English speakers in the 2002 Western Cape senior certificate exam.

reported 22% of South African teachers to be officially under-qualified. A shortage of between 4 000 and 12 000 mathematics and science teachers was also reported, resulting in less than 1% of African language speaking students passing these subjects in the 2000 matric exams (Heugh 2007:211). To make matters worse, most of the teachers that are available do not even have the necessary knowledge of or training in their own subject fields (Heugh 2007:211). In addition hereto, the majority of teachers who are expected to utilise English as the medium of instruction have not themselves attained the requisite level of English proficiency to effectively communicate curriculum content (Heugh 2007:211; Mbude-Shale et al. 2004:159-160 and Sigcau 2004:242).

A common strategy used by teachers in the typical South African classroom described earlier is code-switching. The latter entails switching from one language to another in between sentences, as opposed to code-mixing where a switch takes place within a single sentence (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir, in Brock-Utne 2005:184). In a study on bilingual education conducted by PRAESA in grade 4-7 Science classrooms in the Western Cape, code-switching between English and isiXhosa was found to be a common occurrence that was guided by intuition and therefore not systematic (Mbude-Shale et al. 2004:159). This method proved to have both benefits and drawbacks. At certain times, it proved resourceful, but at other times a switch to English was conveniently used to mask teachers' lack of subject knowledge, as the use of this medium would make learners hesitant to ask questions (Mbude-Shale et al. 2004:159). According to Probyn (2005:162), code-switching may indeed be a valuable resource serving a variety of "communicative, affective and management purposes". Unfortunately, she claims, teachers often regard it as a prohibited practice or as a result of incompetence in the medium of instruction. According to Brock-Utne (2005:185), however, it is code-mixing rather than code-switching that may be a result of incompetence in both languages concerned.

Despite teachers' opinions, García (2009:152) notes, code-switching is becoming increasingly justified as researchers promote its “responsible, and not random, use”. She lists a number of studies in different multilingual countries that have shown some of the uses / benefits of systematic code-switching to be the development of cognitive skills in content subjects like maths and history, the regaining of learners' attention, the clarification or reinforcement of a specific point and the use thereof as a “pedagogical scaffolding technique” to make the L2 more understandable (García 2009:152-153).

3.6.4 Literacy levels

Despite the former Minister of Education, Kader Asmal, publicising intentions of initiating a mass literacy campaign upon his appointment in 1999, South Africa is yet to see such attention being devoted to the issue of literacy, a phenomenon regarded as, in the eyes of Heugh (2007:207), “an illness with a remedy limited to functional, mainly ESL [English second language – AP], literacy”. In the opinion of Mbude-Shale et al. (2004:153), the educational system's failure to support literacy development is a significant factor in its failure to accommodate African-language-speaking learners.

As low literacy rates are furthermore exacerbated by the lack of a reading culture in many poor, under-resourced areas, the lowest scores on literacy tests generate from African-language-speaking communities (Mbude-Shale et al. 2004:154). According to Webb (in Heugh 2007:197), only 5% of the rural teacher trainees have the required level of English language literacy. Whereas only 51% of the grade 12 school leavers who applied for admission to technikons in 1990 had the required level of ESL literacy (grade 8 or above), this number dropped even lower to 18% in 2000 (Heugh 2007:197). In the same year, a study at a formerly “white” metropolitan university revealed only 2% of African language speaking applicants to have had the requisite ESL literacy levels expected at grade 12 level (Horne, in Heugh 2007:197).

A possible reason for the low ESL literacy levels in South Africa may lie in a lack of L1 literacy development. According to Cummins and Robson (in Roberts Auerbach 1995:25), a strong grounding in L1 literacy and schooling plays a significant role in successful L2A. For this reason, L1 literacy instruction is increasingly being used as a point of departure by adult ESL educators of non-literate immigrants and refugees (Roberts Auerbach 1995:25). In the South African situation, one might want to attribute the lag in literacy development to the apartheid legacy. This does not, however, explain the significant decline in early and school leaving literacy levels, seeing as these numbers are based on learners who started their schooling after democratisation and the introduction of a new curriculum (Heugh 2007:197-198).

3.6.5 Human resource development issues

According to Heugh (2007:206), the key human resource issue in South Africa is education and training as it relates to unemployment and poverty. Whilst low levels of the skills required for participation in the formal economy render a large percentage of South Africans unemployable, most grade 12 school leavers are not even deemed “trainable” (Hough, in Heugh 2007:206). That improved literacy and educational levels will in turn improve development and the economy, is a logical assumption (cf. Heugh 2007:206 for a list of researchers who discuss this relationship). Discounting official statements of the Department of Education, most educators and key private sector analysts, however, are of the opinion that the New South Africa is yet to see a true improvement in academic success rates (Heugh 2007:206).

On grounds of the lack of implementation of the LiEP (1997), Heugh (2007:188) accuses Government of failing to regard in earnest the link between “language and literacy on the one hand and social and economic development on the other hand”. Constituting an example of what she terms “institutionalized postcolonial phenomena”, those who are literate with the highest levels of education are still those who are the most proficient speakers of Afrikaans and / or English and those who have the lowest levels of formal

education and access to economic power and social services, still the speakers of African languages (Heugh 2007:188). For this reason, Heugh (2007:188) claims, the likelihood of the latter group being the primary victim of unemployment, poverty and the inability to access social services and lay claim to their constitutional rights, should be apparent. Rassool (2007b:253) furthermore points out that, whilst most of Sub-Saharan Africa has seen regional languages employed in human resource development frameworks, South Africa is yet to embrace the value thereof.

3.7 Attitudes towards English as medium of instruction

Given the problems posed by English as medium of instruction in South Africa discussed above, the fact that it is still, in practice, apparently the most common choice seems illogical. An analysis of language attitudes in a number of studies have revealed two of the main attitude-related causes for this phenomenon to be the instrumental value awarded to English in attaining access to the formal economy and the perception of English as *the* language of education (Probyn 2005:164). Drawing on a point made by Devine, Banda (2003:75) suggests that “learners have learnt to filter their values and experiences through the dominant culture”, which would explain why the isiXhosa university students in his study seemed to associate the state of being educated with English and not isiXhosa.

It is also a common misconception that the acquisition of English is best promoted through maximum exposure to the language as the medium of instruction (Probyn 2005:165; Alexander, in Sigcau 2004:245 and Nomlomo 2004:131). This pedagogy runs counter to that of additive bilingualism, which recognises the value of increasing academic language proficiency in the mother tongue as a resource for the development of the same skill in an additional language (Probyn 2005:165).

It should be noted that, in the research studies reported on by Probyn (2005), learners', parents' and teachers' preference for English-medium education was not unaccompanied by the realisation that English might impact negatively on their culture and language. This, along with participants' appreciation for their mother tongues as a cultural commodity and an intra-community medium of communication, motivated a strong desire to have home languages studied as school subjects (Probyn 2005:165). In fact, the results of the 2000 PANSALB Survey revealed 88% of parents to prefer MTE plus English, compared to only 12 % who prefer English to be the only medium of instruction (Heugh 2007:204). Conversely, the Working Group on Values in Education (in Mbude-Shale et al. 2004:156-157), found parents to prefer a dual-medium approach to the sole use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction. This phenomenon clearly supports Krashen's (1996) argument that, when parents are given an either-or choice between two languages of instruction for their children, they actually have very little choice but to opt for the language that has the highest status (Heugh 2007:204). Common perceptions of parents having an overwhelming preference for English-only education thus seem to be based on the results of surveys or questionnaires in which they were actually presented with Hobson's choice.

3.8 Proposed solutions and the (dis)advantages of each: Mother tongue education or bilingual education?

3.8.1 Possible educational models that would align with the language-in-education policy (1997)

Heugh and October (2005:17) identify five education models that may serve the aims of the LiEP:

- a) The use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction from Reception through to grade 12, complemented by high-quality teaching of an additional language.

- b) The use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction, gradually shifting from 90% of the school day in Reception / grade 1 to 50% of the school day by grade 5-6. This is complemented by the use of an additional language for 10% of the school day in Reception / grade 1, increasing to 50% of the school day by grade 5-6. This use of 2 languages for teaching and learning continues to grade 12.
- c) The use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction, gradually shifting from 90% of the school day in Reception / grade 1 to 50% of the school day by grade 9. This is complemented by the use of an additional language for 10% of the school day in Reception / grade 1, increasing to 50% of the school day by grade 9.
- d) The use of the two most widely used minority languages as in options (b) and (c) in the case of schools / classrooms with several minority languages, complemented by special language maintenance programmes.
- e) The addition of a language stream in the case of a school having enough speakers of a minority language to justify such an action.

Regardless of the model chosen, Heugh and October (2005:17-18) argue, provincial departments and schools need to ensure that the language proficiencies of the teachers and pupils are matched, that teachers improve their language skills and / or bilingual teaching abilities and that educational material and exam papers are made available to pupils not only in English, but also in their mother tongue. Additionally, in my opinion, learners should also be allowed to answer exam papers and complete assignments in their mother tongue if they so chose.

3.8.2 Arguments against the use of African languages as media of instruction

Drawing on work by Chumbow and McLaughlin, Nomlomo (2004:132) summarises the arguments most often cited against the use of African languages as media of instruction. Firstly, African languages are seen as lacking the international currency that languages such as English and French have to enable international relations. Secondly, in the multilingual context of an African country, English is often seen as the best instrument to promote national unity due to its supposed neutrality. The lack of academic vocabulary in African languages is a third argument commonly put forth (cf. also Probyn 2005:165). The acquisition and expression of Western technological and scientific knowledge and thought is furthermore deemed better suited to English than to African languages. The final argument centers on costs: producing educational materials in African languages and training teachers to use these media of instruction would be too costly (Nomlomo 2004:132-133).

In reaction to the abovementioned arguments, Nomlomo (2004:133) provides a number of counterarguments. Firstly, economic growth is not necessarily reliant on linguistic homogeneity, as linguistically heterogenic countries such as Singapore and Switzerland have proven. The economy might in fact be served by multilingualism in terrains such as tourism, translation and interpreting. Secondly, placing the onus on English to unite a racially and ethnically divided nation is a case of misplaced hope. The promotion of individual multilingualism may be much more effective as it will enable cross-cultural communication and so promote a greater understanding and tolerance of differences. (Nomlomo 2004:133).

Thirdly, the problem of insufficient vocabulary is not without a solution. African languages are just as capable of evolving to meet their speakers' needs as any other language. This can be done by either inventing new words or by borrowing words from other languages (Nomlomo 2004:133). Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh (2004:177) strengthen Nomlomo's argument by pointing out that this has already been done once in

South Africa. A significant amount of subject terminology was developed for many African languages for the first eight years of primary schooling under the first stage of Bantu Education, i.e. from 1955 to 1975 (Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh 2004:177). Throughout this period, textbooks and readers in seven of South Africa's and many of Namibia's African languages were in use (Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh 2004:177). According to Heugh (2007:209), the Department of Education simply disposed of all the African language textbook archives after 1994.

Textbooks for the Foundation Phase (grades 1 to 3) have, however, again been made available in African languages (Probyn 2005:166). The fact that such support is yet to be supplied to higher grades, is cited as one of the main reasons for English-medium instruction being introduced in grade 4 already instead of the previously advised grade 5 (Probyn 2005:166). The result of the current lack of African language textbooks for higher grades is that the few parents who are able to do so, have been driven to transfer their children to the 6% of schools that are the best resourced English-medium state schools, or the 2% of private schools in the country (Heugh 2007:209).

Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh (2004:178), however, point out that lists of terminology and publications in African languages dating from before, during and after Bantu Education have been preserved in libraries and are in use in African language departments at universities and even in South Africa's neighbouring countries.¹² Arguments citing a lack of terminology in African languages lastly also ignore the successful corpus planning that awarded Afrikaans its current status as LoLT at tertiary level, proving yet again that any language may be developed to serve a desired function (Probyn 2005:165).

¹² For an assessment of what the extent of this type of foundation is and how much work will need to be done from scratch if educational materials are again to be made available in African languages, see (Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh 2004). This source also provides an overview of how terminology development in African languages was done, as well as a critique of the procedures followed.

As a reaction to the final argument that Nomlomo (2004:133) cites against the use of African languages as media of instruction, namely that of costs, one might consider a point made by Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh (2004:178), i.e. that the necessary funds for making educational materials available in African languages were evidently available during the apartheid years when funding was highly biased against Bantu Education. No valid argument can therefore be made for a lack of funds in the current schooling system that supposedly upholds equal educational opportunities and funding for all (Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh 2004:178).

3.8.3 Arguments in support of mother tongue education

To counter the argument that using African languages as media of instruction would not be cost-efficient, Alexander (in Sigcau 2004:239) put forward a suggestion in 1989 that the written forms of Nguni and Sotho languages be harmonized. A similar suggestion was made in 2003 by Kwesi Kwaa Prah (Sigcau 2004:239). According to Sigcau (2004:239), however, language groups are generally unwilling to compromise when it comes to their mother tongues. For this reason, Sigcau (2004:240) suggests MTE for all African learners as the only solution that will enable effective content learning, will respect different cultural identities and will in turn promote self-respect. Using learners' mother tongues would furthermore enable the outcomes-based curriculum to "become successful", Sigcau (2004:244) argues. The nature of the activity approach on which the outcomes-based model is based, calls for more verbal interaction than before between learners and teachers in the form of dialogues and discussions. Such interaction will be much more effective if learners are allowed to freely express themselves in their mother tongue, the language in which they best articulate their thoughts (Sigcau 2004:244).

According to Cummins (2000), the only way to boost academic performance is by ensuring that teachers respect and acknowledge the languages and cultural knowledge that accompany learners to the classroom. Providing MTE would be one way of doing this. Cummins (2000) also distinguishes between informal conversational skills and

academic skills in an additional language, pointing out that whilst learners might attain the former within the first three years of schooling, the development of the latter demands much more time. The value of employing the mother tongue for the primary development of academic skills thus seems apparent.

Writing on translation as literacy mediation, Banda (2003:67) employs Myles' argument that schemata, i.e. "abstract mental structures representing our knowledge of things, events and situations", are culture specific and may therefore prove problematic when learners are confronted by academic texts in their L2. The fact that translation thus has cultural dimensions over and above its linguistic dimensions, Banda (2003:68) notes, is not widely acknowledged in debates on L1 versus L2 as medium of instruction.

According to Pattanayak (in Nomlomo 2004:134), MTE benefits learners both psychologically and socio-culturally in ensuring a link between educational experiences and cultural identity:

As the mother tongue is usually transmitted from parents to the child, it corresponds with the life experiences of the child and it enhances continuity in the child's learning process and encourages the child's intellectual development.

Also making reference to culture in advocating MTE is Brock-Utne (2002:7), who argues that the use of a medium of instruction *and* a culture familiar to the majority of learners would be a sign of governmental readiness to redistribute power between the masses and the elite. The question of language in Africa, she says, is essentially a question of power in Africa. Specifically, "[t]he choice of language of instruction in Africa is a political choice, a choice that may redistribute power in a global context as well as within an African country between the elites and the masses" (Brock-Utne 2002:14). Quoting Kwesi Kwaa Prah, director of the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society, Brock-Utne (2002:7) states that the only way to enable the development needed to

eliminate poverty is by taking “knowledge and modern science to the masses in their own language”. Fafunwa (in Brock-Utne 2002:15) similarly argues that there is an apparent correlation between underdevelopment and the dissemination of knowledge and skills through the medium of a foreign language. These arguments are supported by the fact that the one thing the developing countries with the greatest percentage of citizens who completed basic education have in common, is MTE at primary school level (Mehrotra, in Brock-Utne 2002:7).

3.8.4 Arguments in support of bilingual education

Mbude-Shale et al. (2004:156), writing on behalf of PRAESA, suggest a bilingual schooling system in which access to English is provided, but the mother tongue also continuously supported. Such an approach would take into account current negative attitudes towards the sole use of the mother tongue and instead offer a compromise between the educational advantages of MTE and the desire to learn a prestigious language that is currently the most economically and politically powerful (Mbude-Shale 2004:156). Such an approach would furthermore steer clear from the disastrous results of the current English-medium instruction in schools where English is, to the majority of learners, a foreign language (Mbude-Shale et al. 2004:158).

Supporting bilingual education in specifically the ESL classroom is Hemmindinger (in Roberts Auerbach 1995:26), who claims that the safe environment the bilingual classroom provides for the transition from the L1 to the L2, reduces language shock and speeds up the L2A process. Roberts Auerbach (1995:26) highlights a number of the purposes that Collingham argues the L1 can fulfill in support of the latter process, namely:

to negotiate the syllabus, to develop ideas as a precursor to expressing them in the L2, to reduce inhibitions or affective blocks to L2 production, to elicit language

and discourse strategies for particular situations, to provide explanations of grammar and language functions, to teach vocabulary, and to keep records.

Also arguing for the use of the L1 in the L2 classroom is Widdowson (2001:11-12), in whose opinion monolingual language teaching discounts the very nature of L2 learning, a bilingual process. Teachers' attempts at distinguishing between the two languages as distinct systems, he argues, are futile as learners are instinctively uniting the two languages as part of the process of "compound bilingualization" (2001:11). Additionally, if bilingual education is to be effective, national and provincial departments of education will have to start providing bilingual teacher education programmes (Heugh and October 2005:20). For Probyn (2005:167), this includes the recognition of code-switching as a legitimate strategy when incorporated into a structured system that utilises the home language as a resource in the acquisition of an additional language and the consequent understanding of content in this language.

Following Jansen (in Probyn 2005:167-168), I advocate against the use of education policies as political symbols promoting the end of apartheid in disregard of practicality. As this has largely been the case to date, substantial efforts to the contrary are needed. Teachers, parents and learners need to be educated in regards to the advantages of additive bilingualism through the use of African languages as media of instruction alongside English. This alone will cause the shift in language attitudes that is needed to ensure the successful implementation of the LiEP. If anybody is to be convinced, however, the paying of mere "lip service" to the promotion of the economic and political currency of indigenous languages will have to be replaced with real action (Probyn 2005:168). Longitudinal studies focusing on which additive bilingual models best serve the South African situation, coupled with educational campaigns to promote common knowledge of the value of additive bilingualism, will furthermore be needed (Probyn 2005:168). Any of the above actions, however, will need to be supported by a general understanding among South Africans that "multiculturalism, pluralism and

multilingualism” are resources for development and not necessarily hurdles (Sigcau 2004:251).

A number of government initiatives, including a programme addressing the non-implementation of the LiEP, have already been launched in an attempt at reaching the long-term goal of utilising indigenous languages as media of instruction (Probyn 2005:167). In the meantime, however, there is what Probyn (2005:167) terms “an apparent acceptance” that, in all likelihood, English will remain the preferred medium of instruction after the Foundation Phase in the immediate future. This has led to efforts to improve teachers’ and learners’ English proficiency as an interim solution (Probyn 2005:167). In adopting this very same point of departure, the current study serves as an example of one such an effort.

3.9 The value of explicit L2 instruction

3.9.1 An overview of communicative language teaching

According to Thompson (in Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei and Thurrell 1997:149), communicative language teaching (CLT) is the dominant theoretical model in the teaching of English, regardless of what may in actuality be happening in classrooms across the world. This specific approach first became popular in the 1970s and utilised as its main teaching practice the indirect, as opposed to direct, approach to teaching speaking skills (Celce-Murcia et al. 1997:141). Rather than employing traditional, explicit grammar teaching methods as in the direct approach, the indirect approach aims to have learners acquire communicative skills as a result of negotiating meaning in communicative situations purposely created to mimic real-life scenarios (Celce-Murcia et al. 1997:141). The focus-on-meaning approach employed as part of the South African English-as-an-additional-language (EAL) syllabus may be argued to fall within the scope of this broader model of CLT. The expected learning outcomes of this syllabus stress a

focus on meaning rather than form and implicit rather than explicit instruction (Ollerhead and Oosthuizen 2005:68).

By the 1990s, however, CLT had become widely criticised, mainly on grounds of its linguistic content base and the manner in which linguistic forms were treated in the CLT classroom (Celce-Murcia et al. 1997:142). As no clear linguistic guidelines had been set, various different communicative approaches emerged, linked only by the broad aim of promoting general communicative competence above structural accuracy (Celce-Murcia et al. 1997:143). Contradicting the principles of cognitive psychology, many language teachers assumed that the latter did not need to be taught, as it would be achieved incidentally as a by-product of being emerged in communicative situations (Celce-Murcia et al. 1997:145). Since then, however, researchers have been investigating and advocating for the value of drawing learners' attention to the formal, structural properties of a language in advancing their rate of language acquisition, with approaches such as "consciousness raising", "input enhancement", "focus on form" and "explicit instruction" being put forward (Celce-Murcia et al. 1997:145). Celce-Murcia et al. (1997:147-148) have suggested that the emerging new CLT approach which recognises the value of explicit teaching in promoting communicative competence, be termed a "principled communicative approach".

3.9.2 Explicit and implicit knowledge

The extent to which explicit, as opposed to implicit, language instruction is of value in promoting L2 proficiency is, however, still a contested topic in the field of L2A research. Serving as base for arguments centered on this topic is the distinction between implicit and explicit *knowledge*. Han and Ellis (1998:5-6) define the former as "knowledge of language" — data that is held unconsciously and easily accessed during "tasks that call for fluent language performance", for example during conversation. Whilst it does not readily lend itself thereto, implicit knowledge can be consciously examined in order to supply a foundation on which to build explicit knowledge (Han and Ellis 1998:5). L2

competence is largely regarded as being dependent on a learner's implicit knowledge of the specific L2 (Ellis 2006:95).

Explicit knowledge may be described as “knowledge *about* the L2”, consisting of both analysed knowledge, i.e. “that knowledge about L2 items and structures of which learners are aware although not necessarily conscious”, and metalanguage, i.e. the consciously held language that is used to describe language (Han and Ellis 1998:5). Learners are generally conscious of their explicit knowledge, but accessing it requires effort, which makes it most suitable for use in “tasks that allow for careful planning and monitoring” (Han and Ellis 1998:6).

The relationship between the above two types of knowledge has been widely debated, leaving researchers specifically divided over the possibility of explicit L2 knowledge promoting the development of implicit L2 knowledge (Han and Ellis 1998:1). Krashen (1981), for example, argues for complete autonomy, with explicit knowledge being learned and only available for monitoring purposes and implicit knowledge being acquired (Han and Ellis 1998:1). According to Krashen, there is no interface between these two forms of knowledge, rendering the conversion of explicit knowledge into implicit knowledge impossible (Ellis 2006:96). This has become known as the “noninterface position” (Ollerhead and Oosthuizen 2005:61). Others, such as Sharwood-Smith (1981) and De Keyser (1998), are proponents of the “strong interface position”, arguing that there is indeed an interface between the two types of knowledge which enables explicit knowledge to become implicit via repeated practice, which in turn enables the natural use of the L2 (Han and Ellis 1998:1-2; Ollerhead and Oosthuizen 2005:61 and Ellis 2006:97).

Still others, such as Ellis (2006:97), view explicit knowledge as a catalyst for developing implicit knowledge by alerting learners to the features of the input language (see also Han

and Ellis 1998:2). These researchers maintain that, if L2 data are included as part of a meaningful context in an understated way, yet made “sufficiently salient for further processing”, learners will “notice” and eventually acquire the L2 forms (Ollerhead and Oosthuizen 2005:61). This is known as the “weak interface position” (Ollerhead and Oosthuizen 2005:61).

As clarity regarding the exact nature of the relationship between explicit and implicit knowledge may be of significance in informing language teaching methods, the need for more research on this topic is evident.

3.9.3 Case studies on explicit versus implicit language teaching

Studies that have shown explicit rather than implicit instruction to better draw learners’ attention to linguistic rules, leading to increased performance, include those by Alanen (1995), De Graaff (1997), Robinson (1997), Harley (1998) and Rosa and O’Neill (1999). Conversely, studies showing implicit instruction to be a fairly insufficient catalyst for interlanguage alterations, include those by Ellis (1993), who specifically refers to the increased time required if implicit instruction is to be effective, Jourdenais (1998), White (1998) and Izumi (2002). Based on the findings of the above studies, as well as his own, Radwan (2005:72) considers the learning of grammar a vital part of learning an L2.

In an article on the value of teaching grammar and the manner in which this is best done, Ellis (2006:85-86) makes reference to research that has shown grammar teaching to increase both acquired and learned knowledge, as well as to research that has shown naturalistic learning, such as that generally found in the classic CLT classroom, to typically fail in increasing grammatical competence.¹³ Based on her practical experience

¹³ (Ellis 2006) addresses questions such as which aspects of grammar should be taught, when they should be taught, whether the information should be massed or distributed and intensive or extensive, whether there is any value in teaching explicit grammatical knowledge, whether there is a best way to teach grammar in order to promote implicit knowledge and whether grammars should be taught in separate

as an English teacher in Tanzania, Qorro (in Brock-Utne 2005:180-181) also argues strongly against attempts at providing learners with English proficiency simply by using it as medium of instruction in content subject classes. Instead, she suggests the improved teaching of English as a subject in its own right.

In a study of the relationship between implicit and explicit knowledge measures and general language proficiency measures, focusing specifically on learners' knowledge of verb complementation in English, Han and Ellis (1998:18-19) found their results supportive of earlier research showing metalinguistic knowledge, as a subset of explicit knowledge, of little value in promoting general language proficiency. They also found, however, a high likelihood for analysed knowledge, i.e. the other subset of explicit knowledge, to play a valuable role in promoting general language proficiency (Han and Ellis 1998:19). On grounds of these findings, it seems that learners might benefit more from explicit language teaching that promotes the development of analysed knowledge than metalanguage alone (Han and Ellis 1998:19).

In his study of the effects of different implicit and explicit attention-drawing instructional conditions on learners' acquisition of dative alternation in English, Radwan (2005:69, 82-83) found explicit instruction to lead to enhanced linguistic performance, whilst increased levels of awareness at the level of understanding, i.e. not noticing alone, coincided with increased levels of language development.¹⁴ This focus on understanding the structural rules of an L2, be it conscious or subconscious, relates to Han and Ellis's (1998) earlier findings regarding the value of analysed knowledge.

lessons or integrated into communicative activities. Whilst these topics will be relevant in deciding how the findings of the current study may be applied, they will not be addressed within the limited scope of this thesis. Worth mentioning here, however, is the fact that Ellis (2006:102) advocates for the identification of those grammatical features that prove problematic for students and focusing on these, rather than the entire scope of grammatical features of the L2. This, then, coincides with the primary aim of the current study.

¹⁴ (Radwan 2005) provides an in-depth investigation of the role of degree of explicitness in various instructional conditions. Due to the limited scope of this thesis, this is not a factor that will be considered here.

In a study attempting to gauge the effectiveness of the South African EAL syllabus in terms of promoting the acquisition of interrogative structures, Ollerhead and Oosthuizen (2005:60, 70) did a comparison between three groups of grade 5 isiXhosa-speaking L2 learners of English. Two of the groups received nine hours of intensive training in question formation over a three-week period, whilst the third group served as a control group, receiving no specific instruction on interrogatives, but continuing with the usual syllabus (Ollerhead and Oosthuizen 2005:71).

The first two groups received different types of instruction. The first, henceforth the “focus-on-meaning group”, received instruction based on *English Matters* (Montgomery and Ollerhead 2003), a South African grade 5 EAL textbook employing a meaning-focused, implicit approach. Over the course of the three weeks, one theme based on a story in this book was addressed, the different activities including comprehension questions, oral group discussions and a letter writing exercise (Ollerhead and Oosthuizen 2005:72). As the textbook does not provide an explanation of the rules of question formation in English, the acquisition of forms would have been incidental (Ollerhead and Oosthuizen 2005:72). Additionally, no corrective feedback was supplied (Ollerhead and Oosthuizen 2005:73).

The second group, henceforth the “focus-on-form group”, received instruction based on *Explore English* (Ollerhead and Njoroge-Gachuhi, in press), a Kenyan grade 5 English L2 textbook employing a form-focused, reasonably explicit approach. This textbook emphasises both form and function by providing ample practice of question structures, whilst engaging learners in meaningful texts (Ollerhead and Oosthuizen 2005:73). The textbook was supplemented by the teacher’s explicit explanation on the whiteboard of the different parts of interrogative structures and the movement they undergo, and by corrective feedback (Ollerhead and Oosthuizen 2005:73).

Pre- and post-tests revealed both the focus-on-meaning and focus-on-form groups to outperform the control group, despite the latter having had exposure to various interrogative structures as they occur naturally in the classroom context (Ollerhead and Oosthuizen 2005:80). Of the two instructed groups, the focus-on-form group fared best, specifically in the task that required participants to focus on all aspects of interrogative structures across a number of tenses (Ollerhead and Oosthuizen 2005:81). The researchers attribute this success to the fact that the focus-on-form textbook draws learners' attention to the L2 forms, without compromising on context, whilst teachers offer negative evidence by pointing out errors (Ollerhead and Oosthuizen 2005:81). Their recommendations are that the South African EAL syllabus be revised to incorporate more form-focused instruction and guidelines for teachers on the value of negative feedback (Ollerhead and Oosthuizen 2005:82).

Inspired by the findings of the studies cited above, the current project is based on the premise that explicit instruction is indeed valuable and necessary in South African EAL classrooms — hence the identification of features that have been shown to remain problematic in the L2 English usage of L1 isiXhosa speakers, even at a near-native level of L2 proficiency. It is hypothesised that learners' acquisition of these features might prove more successful if they are instructed on the relevant grammatical features in a more explicit manner than is currently employed in EAL classrooms. The next chapter will set out the exact manner in which these problematic features were identified as part of the current study.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology

In this chapter, an overview of the participant selection procedure is provided in Section 4.1, detailing the use of a language background questionnaire in Section 4.1.1 and an L2 English proficiency test in Section 4.1.2. Section 4.2 provides a detailed description of the participants who qualified for the study on grounds of their responses to the aforementioned two instruments. Lastly, Section 4.3 reports on the data collection instruments employed after the final selection of participants was made, namely a semi-structured interview with the researcher, followed by a GJT.

4.1. Selection of participants for the study

4.1.1 Step one: completion of a language background questionnaire

In his study of the UA of Swedish proficiency among childhood L2 learners, Hyltenstam (1992:351, 355) selected 24 “highly proficient” L2 speakers aged 17 to 18 years who were considered by their teachers to “speak Swedish without any noticeable foreign accent in everyday oral conversation”. Half of the participants were L1 Finnish and the other half L1 Spanish speakers. They were all active bilinguals, using both their languages on a regular basis. In terms of the age at onset of L2A, two thirds of the bilingual participants had started acquiring their L2 at or below 6 years and one third at or above 7 years. A matched group of 12 monolingual Swedish speakers was included for control purposes.

For the purpose of the current study, students at a tertiary institution in the Western Cape were asked to volunteer as participants. The ideal was to recruit 20 participants, 10 of them serving as a control group of L1 English speakers and the remaining 10 being L1 isiXhosa speakers who have reached a NN level of L2 English proficiency. Each prospective participant was presented with a participant information sheet (cf. Appendix 1) which provides basic background information on the current study. They were also asked to carefully read and sign an informed consent form (cf. Appendix 2) detailing the

different steps they may be asked to complete if they should choose to participate in the study.

Next, each prospective participant was asked to complete a language background questionnaire (cf. Appendix 3), their responses thereto determining whether they qualify to proceed to the next step of the study or not. Questions inquired as to gender, socio-economic status, age at onset of L2A, language(s) spoken at home, language(s) spoken by their primary caregiver during early childhood, languages spoken in their area of residence and crèche / playschool, as well as, in the case of the isiXhosa speakers, the functions for which both English and isiXhosa are currently used.

In order to refrain from toeing the line between child L2A and bilingual language acquisition, only those prospective isiXhosa participants who had an age at onset of L2A between five and 12 years (i.e. who could be described as early / child / pre-pubescent L2 learners) qualified to proceed to the next step of the study. Such prospective participants furthermore had to have indicated that their (dominant) home language is isiXhosa, but that they use both isiXhosa and English in social situations, at university, when studying, at their place of employment and at religious gatherings (be it both languages in all contexts or English in certain contexts and isiXhosa in others). Conformation to these requirements was deemed indicative of active bilingualism, a characteristic of participants in the Hyltenstam (1992) study.

Qualifying participants furthermore had to have indicated that they had received at least their secondary education through the medium of English. This criterion was included in order to ensure that all isiXhosa participants would have been exposed to a large amount of implicit L2 English instruction over the years. Out of the 14 L1 isiXhosa volunteers, only those 10 who met the aforementioned criteria were asked to continue to the next qualifying step in the study, i.e. the completion of a standardised L2 English proficiency test.

For the L1 English volunteers, the language background questionnaire did not pose many possibly disqualifying questions, as the focus was not on their bilingualism, but on the fact that they are L1 speakers of English. Two of the 10 volunteers did not, however, qualify for the next step in the study as they were L1 speakers of so-called “Cape Flats English”, a variety spoken primarily in the Cape Flats area, which differs from the variety the isiXhosa-speaking participants would have been exposed to in the specific English-medium secondary schools that they attended (namely, Standard South African English). For this reason, only eight of the original 10 volunteers were asked to complete the standardised proficiency test.

4.1.2 Step two: completion of an L2 English proficiency test

In contrast to Hyldenstam’s study, the final selection of participants was not guided by teachers’ evaluation of students as NNSs of English, but by their performance on a standardised South African L2 English proficiency test. This decision was guided by the fact that L2A studies focusing on UA are often criticised on grounds of the participant selection criteria being too subjective.

The chosen test is known as the *Standardised proficiency test in English second language: Advanced level* (Chamberlain and Van der Schyff 1991b). It was developed to gauge the proficiency level of L2 English speakers within the range of Senior Secondary Proficiency Levels (i.e. grade 10 – 12), the latter being the operational definition of “Advanced Level” (Chamberlain and Van der Schyff 1991a:12). The test functions on the premise that testees’ ability to correctly answer questions testing “the denotation and connotation of words, phrases, sentences and reading passages as well as acceptable language use” is indicative of their L2 English proficiency (Chamberlain and Van der Schyff 1991a:12-13). The content of the test is not linked to specific scholastic content and is limited to the abilities of the typical L2 English speaker at Senior Secondary Level (Chamberlain and Van der Schyff 1991a:13).

The test was administered to the 18 prospective participants (10 L1 isiXhosa and eight L1 English) who qualified for this step on grounds of their responses to the language

background questionnaire. All the guidelines for the administration of the test set out in (Chamberlain and Van der Schyff 1991a) were strictly adhered to, including the time limit of 40 minutes.

For the grading of the test, the eight L1 English testees' general response to each question, rather than the answers prescribed by the creators of the test, were considered the "correct" answer (in order for the L1 English testees to truly act as control group). Each question had four possible answers, marked A to D. For a specific answer to be deemed "the L1 English group's response", at least 75% of the L1 English testees (i.e. six of the eight) had to have chosen it as the correct answer. On six of the 40 questions, the L1 English testees' responses were highly inconsistent, i.e. a clear majority preference of at least 75% for a certain answer was not evident (in fact, for some of these items the eight L1 English speakers were divided into three or even four groups in terms of the answer that they chose as the correct one, i.e. A, B, C or D). These six questions (i.e. questions number 4, 8, 10, 14, 17 and 39) were consequently disregarded in tallying both the L1 English and L1 isiXhosa testees' scores. Each testee's final percentage score is indicated in the table below.

L1 English testees		L1 isiXhosa testees	
Testee number	Score (%)	Testee number	Score (%)
E1	94	X1	82
E2	94	X2	74
E3	97	X3	56
E4	100	X4	82
E5	94	X5	41
E6	74	X6	79
E7	88	X7	88
E8	97	X8	76
		X9	74
		X10	79

Table 1. Testees' scores (given as percentages) on the *Standardised proficiency test in English second language: Advanced level* (Chamberlain and Van der Schyff 1991b)

The lowest score obtained by an L1 speaker of English, i.e. E6's 74%, was considered the lower boundary in rating the L1 isiXhosa speakers as NNSs. The argument here is that, being *native* speakers of English, all the L1 English testees have naturally passed the level of proficiency described as *near-native*. It is thus fair to regard the L1 isiXhosa testees who have matched or surpassed the lowest score obtained by an L1 English testee as having reached a NN level of proficiency in L2 English, i.e. the highest level of proficiency obtainable by an L2 speaker. Of the 10 L1 isiXhosa testees, X3 and X5 did thus not qualify as NNSs of English on grounds of their performance in the proficiency test. This, conveniently, brought the total number of qualifying L1 English and L1 isiXhosa participants to eight each.

The eight L1 isiXhosa participants were asked to continue with the final two steps in the study, i.e. a semi-structured interview with the researcher, followed by the completion of Johnson and Newport's (1989) GJT. The eight L1 English participants were not interviewed, but they were asked to complete the GJT. It is thus only these 16 participants who provided the data informing the study reported in this thesis.

4.2 Detailed description of participants

Of the eight qualifying L1 isiXhosa participants, half were female and half male. All were between the ages of 18 and 25. Seven of the eight described their family's socio-economic status as "medium", whilst the eighth participant described it as "low". All eight indicated isiXhosa as their L1, whilst both parents of five of the eight are also L1 speakers of isiXhosa. One participant's mother and another participant's father are L1 Sesotho speakers, whilst the eighth participant's father is an L1 isiZulu speaker. The other parent in each of the latter three cases is an L1 speaker of isiXhosa. All eight participants spoke only isiXhosa at home whilst growing up and still use only isiXhosa when interacting with family members.

In six of the cases, isiXhosa was the dominant language spoken in the community that the participants grew up in; in one case it was both isiXhosa and Afrikaans and in the final case it was English. The age at which each of the participants received their first

significant exposure to English (excluding the English heard in the media) ranged from 5 to 12 years. In seven of the cases, this exposure started in a school context; in the remaining case it started in the context of a crèche. Six of the eight participants most frequently use English in their current place of residence; one uses isiXhosa and the final one uses English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans.

As mentioned before, as a qualifying criterion, all eight the participants received at least their secondary education in English. Two, however, were exposed to a mixed-medium of English and isiXhosa (these participants being the only ones who attended a township school). Half of the participants also received their primary education in English, whilst two received the latter in both English and isiXhosa, one received it in both English and Afrikaans and one in isiXhosa alone.

In response to the question regarding the languages they use in social situations, at university, when studying by themselves, at their place of employment and at religious gatherings, respectively, three participants indicated that they use English in the majority of the aforementioned contexts, whilst the other five use a mixture of isiXhosa and English and, in the case of three of these participants, also Afrikaans.

Of the eight L1 English participants, seven were female and one was male. As with the L1 isiXhosa participants, they ranged between 18 and 25 years of age. As these participants acted purely as a control group for the proficiency test and the GJT that was administered at a later stage, further details on their responses to the language background questionnaire is not relevant here.

4.3 Data collection

Hyltenstam (1992:356-357) considered both oral and written data in his study. The former consisted of participants' retellings of two tape-recorded texts played to them and two texts they were asked to read themselves. Although the study focused primarily on the participants' L2, i.e. Swedish, parallel oral data in the participants' L1s were also elicited. The written data consisted of participants' compositions describing and

commenting on a section of Charlie Chaplin's silent film *Modern Times* that had been shown to them.

Whilst Hyltenstam's participants completed each activity in both their L1 and L2, only the L2 was of interest in the current study. Furthermore, only oral data were considered in the current study as the role of varying levels of literacy would otherwise had to have been accounted for in the analysis of written data. Literacy constitutes a different phenomenon to linguistic competence and cannot be regarded as a measure of either overall L1 or L2 proficiency.

Oral data were collected by eliciting speech from each of the eight L1 isiXhosa participants during a one-on-one semi-structured interview with the researcher, each interview lasting about an hour. To initiate conversation, an interview schedule (cf. Appendix 4) consisting of 27 questions was kept at hand. The first 23 questions centre on the participant's experiences as a first year student in the first weeks of class, e.g. what they think of RAG week, res life, their first impressions of their various subjects, etc. To elicit past tense constructions, questions on where they grew up, what school they went to, etc. were included. Future tense constructions were elicited by asking what the participant would like to do upon completion of their degree. Irrealis constructions (e.g. *If he were to come, I would be happy* or *I would prefer for you to help me*) were lastly elicited by asking the participant to react to hypothetical situations sketched by the researcher, such as what they would do if they realised that they had made the wrong choice in terms of their subjects or their course in general.

The last four questions relate to the participants' bilingualism. Questions include, e.g., whether the participants consider themselves to be "English" or "Xhosa", whether they are equally confident and comfortable in both languages, whether they perceive their Xhosa identity or heritage as threatened by English, what they perceive as the advantages of being able to speak English and isiXhosa, etc. Although such information was not directly relevant to the immediate research questions, the exercise provided more free speech for analysis, whilst the data may prove valuable in later studies with a stronger

sociolinguistic approach. As it was anticipated, however, that such questions might draw the participants' attention to their own linguistic performance, which would taint the data, these questions were left until the very end of the interview. Each interview was digitally recorded and later transcribed in normal orthography for purposes of analysis.

Directly after the interview had been conducted, each participant was asked to complete Johnson and Newport's (1989) GJT. A time limit of one hour was set, although most participants finished within 30 minutes. The task has a broad spectrum, testing 12 different types of English morphological and syntactic features. Participants are required to give binary acceptability judgements ("grammatical" or "ungrammatical") of the 282 randomly ordered sentences, of which approximately half are grammatical and the remainder their minimally varying ungrammatical counterparts. The majority of the sets of test sentences consist of two sentences (one grammatical and one ungrammatical), although, in some cases, the sets consist of more than one grammatical and / or more than one ungrammatical counterpart.¹⁵

The 12 features tested in the GJT are indicated below, each with an example of a grammatical test sentence and (one of) its ungrammatical counterpart(s) testing the relevant feature. The number in brackets indicates the number of sentences in the task as a whole that test the specific feature. The first four features (i.e. past tense, plural, third person singular and progressive constructions) were included to test English morphology, whilst the remainder aims at testing English syntax (Johnson and Newport 1989:72).

1. **Past tense** (n = 34)

- (a) *Janie slept with her teddy bear last night.*
- (b) **Janie slept with her teddy bear last night.*

2. **Plural** (n = 24)

- (a) *Many houses were destroyed by the flood last week.*

¹⁵ Note that this fact results in differences between the numbers of sentences testing each of the 12 construction types, as can be seen in the sentences in (1) to (12) below.

- (b) **Many house were destroyed by the flood last week.*
3. **Third person singular** (n = 8)
- (a) *John's dog always waits for him at the corner.*
- (b) **John's dog always wait for him at the corner.*
4. **Progressives** (n = 20)
- (a) *The little boy is speaking to a policeman.*
- (b) **The little boy is speak to a policeman.*
5. **Determiners** (n = 16)
- (a) *Mary opens the windows in her room every night.*
- (b) **Mary opens a windows in her room every night.*
6. **Pronominalisation** (n = 24)
- (a) *We are teaching ourselves the Spanish alphabet.*
- (b) **We are teaching herself the Spanish alphabet.*
7. **Particle movement** (n = 21)
- (a) *Kevin called up Amy for a date.*
- (b) *Kevin called Amy up for a date.*
- (c) **Kevin called Amy for a date up.*
8. **Subcategorisation** (n = 25)
- (a) *The man allows his son to watch TV.*
- (b) **The man allows his son watch TV.*
- (c) *The man lets his son watch TV.*
- (d) **The man lets his son to watch TV.*
9. **Auxiliaries** (n = 24)
- (a) *Mrs. Newport will be leaving the party early.*

(b) **Mrs. Newport will is leaving the party early.*

10. **Yes/no-questions** (n = 34)

(a) *Is Sally waiting in the car?*

(b) **Is waiting Sally in the car?*

11. **Wh-questions** (n = 28)

(a) *Where did she put the book?*

(b) **Why did she put the book?*

12. **Word order** (n = 24)

(a) *The man burned the dinner.*

(b) **The dinner the man burned.*

(c) **The man the dinner burned.*

The data collected through this GJT as well as the interviews are presented and analysed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

Presentation and analysis of data

This chapter presents, in Section 5.1, the results of the GJT and, in Section 5.2, the results of the analysis of the NNSs' free speech collected during the semi-structured interviews. Section 5.1 details the performance of both the NS and NNS groups on the GJT and offers a comparison of the performance of the two groups, as well as a ranking of the 12 tested features according to the level of difficulty the NNS group experienced with each. Section 5.2 provides an exemplified summary of the four main categories of non-native features found in the NNSs' free speech, followed by a detailed quantification of all occurrences of non-native features and a summary of the features proving most problematic in each category.

5.1 Results of the grammaticality judgement task

Participants' responses to the GJT were graded by hand according to the guidelines provided by the creators of the task. An overall score (for the task as a whole) as well as a score for each of the 12 categories (corresponding to the 12 features set out in (1) to (12) in the previous chapter) was calculated for each individual NS and NNS, as well as for the two groups (NSs and NNSs). These results are provided in Tables 2 and 3 below as percentage of accurate judgements.

Feature	Number of items	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	NS group average
Past tense	34	100	94.1	94.1	100	97.1	97.1	94.1	79.4	94.5
Plural forms	24	100	100	91.7	100	95.8	100	87.5	83.3	94.8
Third person singular	8	100	87.5	100	100	100	100	100	100	98.4
Progressives	20	100	85	75	90	95	75	80	70	83.8
Determiners	16	100	62.5	81.3	93.8	87.5	87.5	81.3	75	83.6
Pronominalisation	24	95.8	95.8	100	95.8	100	100	100	95.8	97.9
Particle movement	21	81	90.5	95.2	95.2	85.7	85.7	90.5	90.5	89.3
Subcategorisation	25	100	92	92	100	100	100	96	88	96
Auxiliaries	25	100	87.5	91.7	100	100	100	100	87.5	95.8
Yes/no-questions	33	97.1	73.5	88.2	97.1	100	94.1	94.1	91.2	91.9
Wh-questions	28	100	78.6	100	96.4	100	96.4	78.6	96.4	93.3
Word order	24	95.8	100	95.8	87.5	100	66.7	62.5	79.2	85.9
Total	182	97.6	87.4	92.2	96.4	96.9	92	88.8	86.5	92.1

Table 2. Native speakers' scores on Johnson and Newport's (1989) grammaticality judgement task, presented as percentage of accurate judgements for each feature

Feature	Number of items	X1	X2	X4	X6	X7	X8	X9	X10	NNS group average
Past tense	34	97.1	50	100	100	94.1	100	79.4	91.2	89
Plural forms	24	66.7	54.2	87.5	95.8	87.5	95.8	79.2	91.7	82.3
Third person singular	8	75	50	100	87.5	75	100	62.5	87.5	79.7
Progressives	20	80	65	95	100	80	85	60	85	81.3
Determiners	16	93.8	50	87.5	100	81.3	87.5	75	75	81.3
Pronominalisation	24	87.5	66.7	100	100	95.8	100	83.3	95.8	91.1
Particle movement	21	66.7	81	81	81	90.5	90.5	71.4	76.2	79.8
Subcategorisation	25	84	56	96	100	80	88	96	96	87
Auxiliaries	25	91.7	50	91.7	100	87.5	100	79.2	95.8	87
Yes/no-questions	33	94.1	94.1	97.1	100	94.1	94.1	91.2	100	95.6
Wh-questions	28	100	67.9	96.4	100	100	89.3	85.7	89.3	91.1
Word order	24	95.8	91.7	95.8	95.8	66.7	87.5	95.8	87.5	89.6
Total	182	86.1	64.8	94.1	96.8	86.1	93.2	80	89.4	86.3

Table 3. Near-native speakers' scores on Johnson and Newport's (1989) grammaticality judgement task, presented as percentage of accurate judgements for each feature

Table 4 below presents the average score that the NS group and the NNS group, respectively, received on each of the 12 categories on the GJT (i.e. the scores presented in the final column of Tables 2 and 3 above). The categories in the first column of the table are ranked in terms of measure of difference in percentage (as can be seen by looking at column 4 of the table).

Feature	NS group average	NNS group average	Percentage that NNS group scored lower than NS group	p-value	Significant difference?
Third person singular	98.4	79.7	18.7	0.01	yes
Plural forms	94.8	82.3	12.5	0.05	no
Particle movement	89.3	79.8	9.5	0.01	yes
Subcategorisation	96	87	9	0.11	no
Auxiliaries	95.8	87	8.8	0.17	no
Pronominalisation	97.9	91.1	6.8	0.13	no
Past tense	94.5	89	5.5	0.41	no
Progressives	83.8	81.3	2.5	0.69	no
Determiners	83.6	81.3	2.3	0.73	no
Wh-questions	93.3	91.1	2.2	0.67	no
Word order	85.9	89.6	-3.7	0.57	no
Yes/no-questions	91.9	95.6	-3.7	0.26	no
Total	92.1	86.2	5.9	0.16	no

Table 4. A comparison between the native speaker and the near-native speaker groups' average percentage scores on each feature tested by Johnson and Newport's (1989) grammaticality judgement task, ranked in order of measure of difference in percentage

An ANOVA was performed to determine whether the two groups differed *significantly* from each other in their performance on any of the 12 categories. The results of the ANOVA are presented as p-values in column 5 of Table 4 above. As can be seen here, with alpha set at 0.05, the two groups only differed significantly from each other on two features: the NS group fared significantly better than the NNS group on items testing the third person singular feature ($p = 0.01$) and on items testing particle movement ($p =$

0.01). These two significant differences between the groups are presented visually in Figures 1 and 2 below.

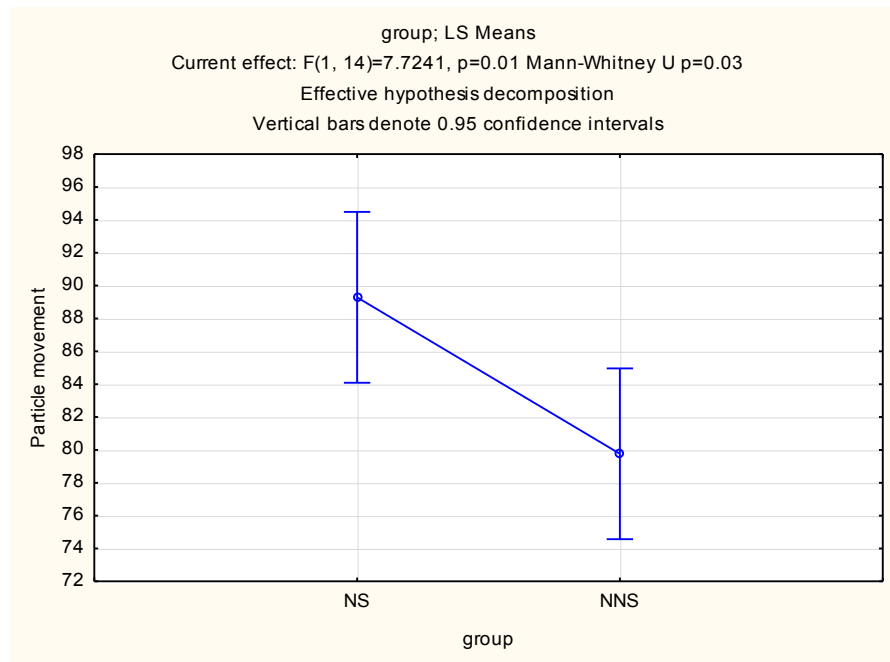


Figure 1. A visual representation of the significant difference in the native and near-native speaker groups' performance on the items in Johnson and Newport's (1989) grammaticality judgement task that test particle movement

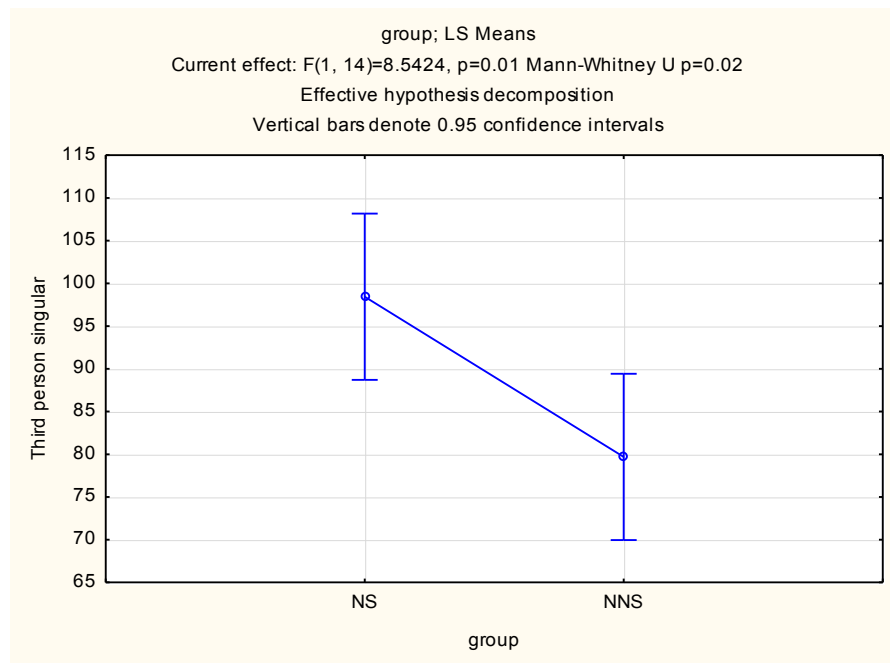


Figure 2. A visual representation of the significant difference in the native and near-native speaker groups' performance on the items in Johnson and Newport's (1989) grammaticality judgement task that test the third person singular feature

What the p-values in Table 4 also confirm is that the selected eight L1 isiXhosa speakers are indeed NNSs of English, since (i) their performance on the GJT overall did not differ significantly from that of the NSs ($p = 0.16$), (ii) they only fared significantly worse than the NSs on two of the 12 features tested by the GJT (namely third person singular and particle movement), and (iii) they even outperformed the NSs on two features (namely word order and yes/no-questions – even though these differences are not significant). The results of the GJT thus support those of the proficiency test in this regard.

On the other hand, the fact that there are indeed significant differences between the two groups in terms of their performance on two features, provides support for the first hypothesis I ventured in Chapter 1. This hypothesis stated that even L1 isiXhosa speakers who acquired English during childhood will differ from NSs of English on an English GJT, despite them having reached a NN level of proficiency in English.

Table 5 below offers a ranking of the 12 features in terms of the apparent degree of difficulty each feature posed for the groups, with those features having proved most difficult (as indicated by percentage of accurate judgements) being ranked highest.

NS group			NNS group		
Ranking	Feature	Group average	Ranking	Feature	Group average
1	Determiners	83.6	1	Third person singular	79.7
2	Progressives	83.8	2	Particle movement	79.8
3	Word order	85.9	3	Progressives	81.3
4	Particle movement	89.3	4	Determiners	81.3
5	Yes/no-questions	91.9	5	Plurals	82.3
6	Wh-questions	93.3	6	Auxiliaries	87.0
7	Past tense	94.5	7	Subcategorisation	87.0
8	Plural forms	94.8	8	Past tense	89.0
9	Auxiliaries	95.8	9	Word order	89.6
10	Subcategorisation	96	10	Wh-questions	91.1
11	Pronominalisation	97.9	11	Pronominalisation	91.1
12	Third person singular	98.4	12	Yes/no-questions	95.6

Table 5. The 12 features tested by Johnson and Newport's (1989) grammaticality judgement task, ranked in terms of the level of difficulty each posed to the native and near-native speaker groups respectively

Note that, apart from past tense ranking 7th and pronominalisation ranking 10th for both groups, the ranking of the 12 features differs largely for the NS and NNS groups, with little further correlation to be found. Most striking is the fact that third person singular is the feature which posed the highest level of difficulty for the NNSs, yet it is ranked 11th most “difficult”, i.e. not at all difficult, for the NSs. This phenomenon, together with the overall rankings in Table 5, provides evidence for the second hypothesis I ventured in Chapter 1, i.e. that the types of features that prove most difficult to the NNSs in the GJT will differ, to a certain extent, from those that prove most difficult to NSs.

5.2 Analysis of participants' free speech

As mentioned earlier, Hyltenstam (1992) compared both the oral and written data from his three participant groups by identifying the types and frequency of all non-native features.

For the purposes of the current study, the altogether 10 hours and 42 minutes of free speech collected from the NNS group during the semi-structured interviews (i.e. an average of 80 minutes per participant) were audio-recorded and orthographically transcribed. All the utterances containing non-native features were then identified and the features were categorised as specific types of syntactic, morphological, semantic or pragmatic non-native features. In Sections 5.2.1 to 5.2.4 below, an example from the NNSs' free speech is provided for each subtype of non-native feature. In each such example, the relevant words / phrases are underlined where possible and the utterance is followed by (i) the relevant participant's number in brackets and (ii) the target form of the utterance. (The reader is referred to Appendix 5 for an even finer categorisation of the non-native features, which includes **all** of the NNSs' utterances which were identified as containing a non-native feature (n = 586).)

Before providing example utterances, a description of the coding conventions used in the transcription of the sound files is necessary:

- The word or larger speech segment in which the non-native feature or error lies, is underlined.
- If a word or phrase was omitted in the original conversation, it is indicated between *s in the relevant position, e.g. **that**.
- If only part of a sentence is quoted, the preceding and / or following omitted part of the sentence is substituted by an ellipsis in square brackets, i.e. [...].
- Unintelligible speech segments are indicated by a question mark placed in brackets, i.e. (?). A guess at what such a segment might have been is also indicated between brackets, followed by a question mark, e.g. (*speaking to?*).
- If a word or a part of a word was unnecessarily repeated more than once, the multiple utterances are joined by a hyphen, e.g. *it-it*.

- If a multi-word utterance was unnecessarily repeated more than once, the multiple utterances are separated by commas, e.g. *then they will, they will, like, notice me.*
- If a speaker's speech trailed off, it is indicated by an ellipsis, i.e. ...
- A false start is separated from the following reformulation by an ellipsis, followed by a comma, i.e. ..., .
- If a speaker was interrupted mid-utterance, it is indicated by a dash, i.e. - .
- If a quoted segment of a conversation involves utterances by both the participant and the researcher, the participant number (i.e. the abbreviated pseudonym of the participant) is listed first, followed by the participant number or the initials of the researcher, depending on who spoke first in the quoted segment of conversation, e.g.

X4: X4: *I think it's also probably specific to our province because *of*
Xhosa and English and Afrikaans being the...*

AP: *The provincial languages.*

- If a segment of speech quoted below contains more than one type of non-native feature or error, only the non-native feature or error of the type currently under discussion is underlined, or in the case of an omission, indicated with an underscore. The other non-native feature(s) or error(s) are indicated in the relevant section(s).
- For purposes of anonymity, all person, place and institution names have been replaced with pseudonyms. The researcher's name has been replaced by her initials, i.e. AP.

5.2.1 Syntactic non-native features

The syntactic non-native features present in the data constitute three categories, namely (i) word order errors¹⁶, (ii) word omission errors and (iii) errors relating to the incorrect / unnecessary insertion of a word. Each of these categories is described in more detail below.

¹⁶ Note that the term "error(s)" is not used in a prescriptive sense which connotes negative judgements, but is simply used in reference to constructions of a nature that is in direct conflict with the grammatical intuitions of NSs of the NNSs' variety of English, namely Standard South African English.

Word order errors

Below is an example of a word order error caused by the incorrect placement of an adverb (specifically a degree adverb).

(13) *No, I can't cope really, [...].* (X1)

Target: *No, I can't really cope, [...].*

The full scope of word order errors includes the incorrect placement of adverbs (specifically, degree adverbs and adverbial phrases of degree, locative adverbs, adverbs of time and phrases specifying time, adverbs of probability, commenting adverbs, focusing adverbs and adverbs of manner), quantifiers, prepositions, prepositional phrases and relative clauses.

Word omission errors

Below is an example of a word omission error caused by the omission of a complementiser.

(14) *Only now I'm doing my first year... The reason being *that* I passed my matric in 2005.* (X1)

Target: *The reason being that I passed my matric in 2005.*

The subcategories that collectively constitute word omission errors are: the omission of complementisers, conjunctions, degree adverbs, articles, auxiliaries, copulas, prepositions, particles, the infinitive marker, pronouns (specifically, reflexive and relative pronouns) and subjects.

Errors relating to the incorrect / unnecessary insertion of a word

Below is an example of the incorrect insertion of a preposition.

(15) [...] *I was doubting in myself [...]*. (X4)

Target: *I was doubting myself [...]*.

The full list of lexical categories from which words were found to be incorrectly inserted in the participants' utterances includes conjunctions, prepositions (as well as prepositional phrases), pronouns (specifically, personal, reflexive and demonstrative pronouns as well as existential *there*), articles, auxiliaries and quantifiers.

5.2.2 Morphological non-native features

The morphological non-native features present in the data constitute three categories, namely (i) errors in derivational morphology, (ii) errors in inflectional morphology and (iii) errors relating to free grammatical morphemes (incorrect choice of allomorph). Each of these categories is described in more detail below.

Errors in derivational morphology

Below is an example of an error in derivational morphology (specifically in choice of derivational suffix).

(16) *So the jargon: there's different jargon, you know? Manly jargon and boyly jargon.*
(X9)

Target: *boyish*

The errors in derivational morphology constitute two main categories, namely (i) the use of the incorrect form of a word, where the two forms (incorrect and correct) belong to different lexical categories (specifically, the use of an adverb instead of, respectively, an adjective or a quantifier; the use of a noun phrase instead of an adjective; and the use of an adjective instead of, respectively, an adverb or verb) and (ii) the incorrect choice of derivational suffix.

Errors in inflectional morphology

Below is an example of an error in inflectional morphology, caused by the use of a present tense form instead of a past tense form.

- (17) *I gave birth on Tuesday and then I stay, like, the whole week and then next Monday I had to, like, go to school, [...]. (X1)*

Target: *stayed*

The errors in inflectional morphology constitute four categories, namely (i) errors in choice of tense form and / or aspect form (in turn constituting seven specific subcategories – cf. Appendix 5), (ii) errors relating to comparative and superlative markers, (iii) errors relating to plural markers (caused either by the adding of a regular plural marker to a mass noun or by the use of a noun (phrase) that is incorrectly marked or incorrectly not marked as plural) and (iv) errors caused by the incorrect insertion or omission of third person singular –s (i.e. concord errors).

Errors relating to free grammatical morphemes (incorrect choice of allomorph)

Below is an example of an error in choice of free grammatical morpheme, specifically a concord error.

- (18) *Um, the advantages is that I can speak to a broader spectrum of people. (X7)*

Target: *are*

The above category constitutes four subcategories, namely (i) the use of *much* instead of *many*, (ii) the use of *a* instead of *an*, (iii) the use of *this* instead of *these* and (iv) errors involving *is* versus *are* and / or *was* versus *were* (concord errors).

5.2.3 Semantic non-native features

The semantic non-native features present in the data constitute two main categories, namely (i) lexical selection errors and (ii) the non-native use of words / phrases. These two categories are described in more detail below.

Lexical selection errors

Below is an example of a lexical selection error, specifically an error in choice of preposition(nal phrase).

(19) *But we sort of..., we pride ourselves, right, in terms of having a rainbow nation, different cultures.* (X4)

Target: *on*

The lexical selection errors constitute the following 13 subcategories:

- errors involving pronouns (in turn constituting 9 subcategories detailed in Appendix 5);
- errors involving prepositions (including incorrect choice of preposition(al phrase) and use of a prepositional phrase instead of a determiner before the direct object noun phrase);
- errors involving adverbs (including incorrect choice of degree adverb, incorrect choice of adverb of time and use of a preposition instead of an adverb);
- use of a complementiser instead of a conjunction;
- use of a conjunction instead of a complementiser;
- incorrect choice of auxiliary;
- incorrect choice of determiner type;
- use of a quantifier instead of an adjective in its comparative form;
- use of a homonym with its meaning as an interrogative pronoun instead of its meaning as an adverb of time;
- use of *certain* instead of *certain types of*;
- use of an indefinite instead of a definite article;

- incorrect choice of wh-proform; and
- use of a preposition instead of an infinitival expression.

The non-native use of words / phrases

Below is an example of the non-native use of the phrase *the other one* to refer to the first of two noun phrases:

(20) [...] when I came here, I had two friends. The other one was from Limpopo and the other one was from Northern Cape. They both..., the other one was Tswana and the other one Sotho, but I couldn't keep up speaking to them. (X1)

The above category constitutes the following 11 subcategories:

- use of the quantifier *another*;
- use of the phrase *the other one* (specifically, the use thereof in constructions where there are more than two noun phrases to refer to the first of two noun phrases);
- incorrect use of *proud* through the omission of a prepositional phrase complement with *of* / *to* as head;
- use of *maybe* instead of *for example* / *say* / *perhaps*;
- use of *well* instead of *good* / *much*;
- use of *as well* instead of *also*;
- use of *talk* instead of *speak*;
- use of *now* as a discourse marker;
- non-native ways of designating familial relationships;
- unusual, idiosyncratic or incorrect use of a content word or phrase; and
- incorrect formulation or use of a set expression.

5.2.4 Pragmatic non-native features

The pragmatic non-native features present in the data constitute only one main category, described below.

The use of yes / ja to confirm the content of a negative statement

Below is an example of the non-native use of *yes / ja* to confirm the content of a negative statement:

(21) AP: *So, your mom never learnt Sotho as, like..., as an adult?*

X2: *Ja. No. [...]*

AP: *Okay, because your dad could speak Xhosa, there wasn't really any real reason for her to make the effort?*

X2: *Ja.*

Lastly, a number of loan words and overused words and formulaic phrases were also noted in the NNSs' free speech. As the focus of this study is on the identification of those non-native features that L2 English learners at lower levels of proficiency than the NN level should receive explicit instruction on, these final two sections are not directly relevant in that their nature does not lend them to easy instruction or "rectification". It may also be argued that, rather than eliciting negative judgements from NSs and, in doing so, inhibiting upward social mobility, the use of loan words is a common, often valued and identity-affirming feature of the Englishes spoken in South Africa. Additionally, it is to be expected that certain words and formulaic phrases are overabundant in casual, free speech. This phenomenon is not, however, necessarily an indication that the same rate of occurrence would be found in the same speakers' formal speech or writing – the domains most important in determining social mobility. For these reasons, the above two features will not be discussed in detail here, although examples have been noted in Appendix 5 for the sake of interest.

5.2.5 Quantification of non-native features found in free speech

The table below indicates the number of times each non-native feature occurred in the 10 hours and 42 minutes of free speech collected during the semi-structured interviews with the NNSs.

	NON-NATIVE FEATURE	NR OF OCCURRENCES
	SYNTACTIC NON-NATIVE FEATURES	250
1	1. Word order errors	56
1.1	Incorrect placement of adverbs	49
	<i>Degree adverbs or adverbial phrases of degree</i>	8
	<i>Locative adverbs</i>	1
	<i>Adverbs of time / phrases specifying time</i>	22
	<i>Adverbs of probability</i>	6
	<i>Commenting adverbs</i>	8
	<i>Focussing adverbs</i>	3
	<i>Adverbs of manner</i>	1
1.2	Incorrect placement of quantifiers	1
1.3	Incorrect placement of prepositional phrases	3
1.4	Incorrect placement of a preposition before NP in constructions where it should follow NP	2
1.5	Incorrect placement of relative clauses	1
2	Word omission errors	160
2.1	Complementisers	5
2.2	Conjunctions	3
2.3	Degree adverbs	3
2.4	Articles	46
2.5	Auxiliaries	8
2.6	Copulas	7
2.7	Prepositions	59
2.8	Particles	3
2.9	Infinitive marker	2
2.10	Pronouns	3
	<i>Reflexive pronouns</i>	2
	<i>Relative pronouns</i>	1
2.11	Subjects	21
3	Errors relating to the incorrect / unnecessary insertion of a word	34
3.1	Conjunctions	6
3.2	Prepositions / prepositional phrases	6
3.3	Pronouns	14
	<i>Personal pronouns</i>	3
	<i>Reflexive pronouns</i>	5
	Demonstrative pronouns	5
	Existential there	1

Table 6. Quantification of the non-native features found in the NNS group's free speech

	NON-NATIVE FEATURE	NR OF OCCURRENCES
3.4	Articles	3
3.5	Auxiliaries	2
3.6	Quantifiers	3
	MORPHOLOGICAL NON-NATIVE FEATURES	149
1	Errors in derivational morphology	11
1.1	The use of the incorrect form of a word, where the two forms (incorrect and correct) belong to different lexical categories	9
	<i>Adverb instead of adjective</i>	4
	<i>Adverb instead of quantifier</i>	1
	<i>Noun phrase instead of adjective</i>	1
	<i>Adjective instead of adverb</i>	2
	<i>Adjective instead of verb</i>	1
1.2	Incorrect choice of derivational suffix	2
2	Errors in inflectional morphology	106
2.1	Incorrect choice of tense form and / or aspect form	86
	<i>Errors relating to present tense forms</i>	5
	Use of a past instead of present tense form	4
	Use of an irrealis construction in an overall present tense construction	1
	<i>Errors relating to past tense forms</i>	36
	Use of a present tense instead of past tense form	32
	Use of a future tense instead of past tense form	4
	<i>Errors relating to future tense forms</i>	1
	Use of a present progressive construction instead of a future tense construction	1
	<i>Errors relating to infinitives</i>	3
	Use of a past tense form instead of an infinitive	1
	Use of a progressive participle instead of an infinitive	2
	<i>Errors relating to progressive forms and constructions</i>	10
	Use of an infinitive instead of a progressive participle	1
	Use of an infinitive instead of a progressive participle	1
	Use of an infinitival expression instead of a progressive participle	3
	Use of a present progressive instead of a past progressive construction	5
	<i>Errors relating to perfectives</i>	9
	Use of an infinitive form instead of a present perfect construction	2
	Use of a past tense form instead of a present perfect construction	2
	Use of a past tense form instead of a present perfect progressive construction	1

Table 6. Quantification of the non-native features found in the NNS group's free speech (continued)

	NON-NATIVE FEATURE	NR OF OCCURRENCES
	Use of a past tense form instead of a past perfect construction	1
	Use of a past tense form instead of a past participle	2
	Use of a present perfect instead of past perfect construction	1
	<i>Errors relating to irrealis constructions</i>	22
2.2	Errors relating to comparative and superlative markers	1
	<i>The adding of a superlative-forming suffix to an adjective preceded by most</i>	1
2.3	Errors relating to plural markers	13
	<i>The adding of a regular plural marker to a mass noun</i>	5
	<i>Noun (phrase) incorrectly marked or incorrectly not marked as plural</i>	8
2.4	Incorrect insertion or omission of third person singular –s (concord errors)	6
3	Errors relating to free grammatical morphemes (incorrect choice of allomorph)	32
3.1	Use of <i>much</i> instead of <i>many</i>	6
3.2	Indefinite articles: use of <i>a</i> instead of <i>an</i>	10
3.3	Use of <i>this</i> instead of <i>these</i>	3
3.4	Errors relating to <i>is</i> versus <i>are</i> and / or <i>was</i> versus <i>were</i> (concord errors)	13
	SEMANTIC NON-NATIVE FEATURES	179
1	Lexical selection errors	106
1.1	Errors involving pronouns	26
	<i>Incorrect choice of demonstrative pronoun</i>	2
	<i>Use of a demonstrative pronoun instead of an article</i>	2
	<i>Use of a relative adverb instead of a relative pronoun</i>	1
	<i>Incorrect choice of interrogative pronoun</i>	1
	<i>Use of an adverb of manner instead of a pronoun</i>	1
	<i>Incorrect choice of indefinite pronoun</i>	2
	<i>Incorrect choice of pronoun relative to antecedent</i>	11
	<i>Incorrect choice of gender form of pronoun</i>	4
	<i>Incorrect choice of pronoun type</i>	2
1.2	Errors involving prepositions	57
	<i>Incorrect choice of preposition / a prepositional phrase</i>	56
	<i>Use of a prepositional phrase instead of a determiner before the direct object noun phrase</i>	1
1.3	Errors involving adverbs	9
	<i>Incorrect choice of degree adverb</i>	2
	<i>Incorrect choice of adverb of time: now instead of then</i>	6
	<i>Use of a preposition instead of an adverb</i>	1
1.4	Use of a complementiser instead of a conjunction	1

Table 6. Quantification of the non-native features found in the NNS group's free speech (continued)

	NON-NATIVE FEATURE	NR OF OCCURRENCES
1.5	Use of a conjunction instead of a complementiser	1
1.6	Incorrect choice of auxiliary	1
1.7	Incorrect choice of determiner type	2
1.8	Use of a quantifier instead of an adjective in its comparative form	1
1.9	Use of a homonym with its meaning as an interrogative pronoun instead of its meaning as an adverb of time	1
1.10	Use of <i>certain</i> instead of <i>certain types of</i>	2
1.11	Use of an indefinite instead of definite article	2
1.12	Incorrect choice of wh-proform	2
1.13	Use of a preposition instead of an infinitival expression	1
2	The non-native use of words / phrases	73
2.1	The quantifier <i>another</i>	1
2.2	The phrase <i>the other one</i>	11
	<i>The use of the other one in constructions where there are more than two noun phrases</i>	2
	<i>The use of the other one to refer to the first of two noun phrases</i>	9
2.3	Incorrect use of <i>proud</i> through omission of a prepositional phrase complement with <i>of / to</i> as head	3
2.4	Use of <i>maybe</i> instead of <i>for example / say / perhaps</i>	7
2.5	Use of <i>well</i> instead of <i>good / much</i>	2
2.6	Use of <i>as well</i> instead of <i>also</i>	1
2.7	Use of <i>talk</i> instead of <i>speak</i>	3
2.8	Use of <i>now</i> as a discourse marker	5
2.9	Non-native ways of designating familial relationships	1
2.10	Unusual, idiosyncratic or incorrect use of a content word (phrase)	28
2.11	Incorrect formulation or use of a set expression	11
	PRAGMATIC NON-NATIVE FEATURES	8
1	Use of <i>yes / ja</i> to confirm the content of a negative statement	8
	TOTAL OF NON-NATIVE FEATURES	586

Table 6. Quantification of the non-native features found in the NNS group's free speech (continued)

As the above table shows, the total number of non-native features found in the NNSs' free speech is 586, the most common of which are syntactic features at 250 occurrences (= 42.7%), followed by semantic features at 179 (= 30.5%), morphological features at 149 (= 25.4%) and, lastly, pragmatic features at 8 (= 1.4%). The discussion below regards each of these categories in turn, revealing which subcategories proved most significant in each case.

Of the 250 occurrences of syntactic non-native features, word omission errors proved the most common at 160 occurrences (= 64%), followed by word order errors at 56 occurrences (= 22.4%) and errors relating to the incorrect / unnecessary insertion of a word at 34 occurrences (= 13.6%). Of the 160 word omission errors, the omission of prepositions proved by far the most common at 59 occurrences (= 36.9%), followed by the omission of articles at 46 (= 28.8%). Of the 56 word order errors, a clear majority was again evident in that 49 (= 87.5%) related to adverbs, the majority of which were adverbs of time or phrases specifying time at 22 occurrences (= 44.9%).

Of the 179 occurrences of semantic non-native features, lexical selection errors proved by far the most common at 106 occurrences (= 59.2%), with the non-native use of words / phrases amounting to the remaining 40.8% at 73 occurrences. Of the 106 lexical selection errors, the majority involved prepositions or prepositional phrases at 57 occurrences (= 53.8%), followed by errors involving pronouns at 26 occurrences (= 24.5%).

Of the 149 occurrences of morphological non-native features, the majority involved inflectional morphology at 106 occurrences (= 71.1%), followed by errors relating to free grammatical morphemes at 32 (= 21.5%), with errors in derivational morphology amounting to a mere 7.4% at 11 occurrences. Of the 106 errors in inflectional morphology, by far the majority, at 86 occurrences (= 81.1%), involved the incorrect choice of tense form and / or aspect form. At 36 occurrences (= 41.9%), the majority of these relate to past tense forms, with the target form incorrectly being substituted by a present tense form in 32 (= 88.9%) of these instances.

Lastly, the total of 8 occurrences of a pragmatic non-native feature constitutes a single category, namely the use of *yes* / *ja* to confirm the content of a negative statement. As the number of times this pragmatic non-native feature was noted amounts to a negligible 1.4% of the 586 occurrences of a non-native feature, it will not be brought into consideration in making suggestions for explicit instruction.

In its discussion of the above results of the GJT and the analysis of free speech, the next chapter identifies those non-native features most in need of explicit instruction and offers some suggestions on how to approach such teaching. Lastly, it also points out the strengths and limitations of the current study and makes suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 6

Discussion of results

This chapter provides a discussion of the results presented in the previous chapter that serves to identify those features of English grammar that proved most problematic to the NNSs as a group and that are most ideally suited to explicit instruction. Hereafter, a conclusion to the study is provided that summarises the main findings, assesses the limitations and strengths of the study and makes suggestions for future research.

6.1 Features identified for explicit instruction

The previous chapter's analysis of the non-native features found in the NNSs' free speech, along with the results of the GJT, offers clear guidance in suggesting features for explicit instruction, as done below. Note that L2 English speakers "unlearn" many non-native features en route to reaching a NN level of proficiency, on the basis of exposure to the target L2. One can therefore assume that the areas that do remain problematic even after reaching the latter level, might require explicit instruction more than others. Taking into account that the participants involved in the study had been exposed to a great quantity of English in their school years as it was used as medium of instruction in at least their high schools, such non-native features might be described as possibly resistant to the often implicitly correcting effect of large amounts of L2 input. For this reason, I suggest the explicit, rather than implicit, instruction of the features of English grammar discussed below.

Syntactic non-native features

Firstly, I suggest that the primary focus in the EAL classroom be on syntax, as nearly half of the non-native features found in the NNSs' free speech belong to this category.¹⁷ More

¹⁷ The remaining half is shared by, in order of prevalence, the categories semantic, morphological and pragmatic non-native features. Interestingly, the NNSs' overall accuracy rate on the 8 syntactic features tested by the GJT is, at 87.8%, slightly higher than their overall accuracy rate of 83.1% on the 4 tested

specifically, word omission errors (primarily those involving prepositions and articles) and word order errors (primarily those involving adverbs) should be addressed. Word omission errors may be the result of a number of underlying factors, ranging from the simple non-recognition of a need for the use of the word in a given context to deliberate avoidance of its use. The latter, in turn, may be due to uncertainty as to its placement in the sentence or perhaps as to which word to choose from the entirety of options offered by the specific lexical category. Given this variety of possible causes, it is not surprising that word omission errors constitute the single most common type of non-native feature found in the collection of free speech at 27.3% of the total number of 586 occurrences of a non-native feature.

Again given the variety of possible causes, recommendations as to how to address word omission errors would necessarily have been vague if not for the clear correlation found between this type of error and lexical selection errors in terms of the lexical category proving most problematic in both cases, namely prepositions. The fact that more than half of the lexical selection errors involved the incorrect choice of preposition increases the possibility that the omission of prepositions may be an avoidance strategy employed due to uncertainty as to which preposition to select, and not necessarily due to the non-recognition of a need for a preposition. Additionally, the likelihood of the omission of prepositions being caused by uncertainty as to their placement in the sentence is lowered by the fact that only 5 (= 9%) of the 56 word order errors involved a preposition or prepositional phrase. In terms of origin, the omission of prepositions is thus most likely a semantic rather than a purely syntactic problem, which may be addressed through the explicit teaching of the meaning of the different English prepositions and the contexts in which they are traditionally used.¹⁸

morphological features. This may be interpreted as an indication that English syntax is not necessarily inherently more difficult for L1 isiXhosa speakers to master than English morphology, but that it simply demands more processing time than morphology, the latter being reflected in the results of the NNSs' free speech, a context that allows less processing time than the completion of a GJT does.

¹⁸ In a discussion with Prof Marianna Visser of the African Languages Department at Stellenbosch University, Prof Visser noted that the overall level of difficulty NNSs seem to experience with the English prepositional system may also be partially due to the fact that the meanings communicated via prepositions in English, are often communicated via other lexical categories in isiXhosa.

The omission of articles, on the other hand, might be a result of the fact that isiXhosa employs other morphosyntactic procedures than the placement of a free morpheme in the specifier position of the noun phrase to communicate the (in)definiteness of the relevant noun, as done in English (Visser, p.c.). In this case, instruction should thus reinforce the necessity of articles in the abovementioned syntactic context, unless the noun phrase consists of a plural noun preceded by a phonologically null determiner with the semantic property of being generic.

In terms of word order errors, the fact that 87.5% thereof involved adverbs clearly flags this specific lexical category as the one to receive primary attention in the classroom. The target of instruction becomes even more specific when taking into account that almost half of these errors involved adverbs of time or phrases specifying time.¹⁹

Considering the results of the GJT, one might be tempted to advise that prepositions too should receive attention when teaching word order, since Table 4 shows particle movement, a feature tested by exploiting the differences between particles and prepositions, to be one of the two features on which the NNS group performed significantly worse than the NS group. Table 5 also shows this feature to be the number two ranking problematic feature for the NNS group. Six of the 11 ungrammatical test sentences testing this feature were created by allowing prepositions to move, like particles, to the right of the object noun phrase, resulting in a word order error. A closer look at the NNSs' responses, however, revealed a 100% group accuracy rate on five of these six test sentences. Interestingly, two of these sentences' grammatical counterparts were not uniformly judged as such by the group. Still, the low overall accuracy rate on the 21 sentences testing particle movement does not seem to be due specifically to the NNSs' judgement of the 12 sentences involving prepositions, but rather the remaining 9 sentences involving particles in their moved and unmoved grammatically correct

¹⁹ Interestingly, despite its prevalence in free speech, word order errors did not prove problematic for the NNSs in the GJT, ranking 9th most difficult of the 12 features tested (cf. Table 5). Note, however, that some of the other aspects tested in the GJT, such as subcategorisation and particle movement, also involve word order errors in certain test sentences that are not considered in the final scoring of the category "word order errors". On the other hand, the difference between the prevalence of word order errors in the NNSs' free speech and their performance on the GJT may again be attributed to the difference in the amount of processing time available to speakers in the two contexts.

positions, as well as outside their own clause in ungrammatical positions. This proposal is supported by the fact that, as mentioned above, the placement of prepositions accounted for only a small percentage of the word order errors found in the NNSs' free speech. What one may, consequently, advise on grounds of the results of the GJT is that the placement of particles, and not necessarily prepositions, also be explicitly taught.

*Semantic non-native features*²⁰

As indicated in the previous chapter, almost 60% of the semantic non-native features found in the NNSs' free speech were lexical selection errors, and more than half of these involved prepositions or prepositional phrases. As before, in my argument for the omission of prepositions being an avoidance strategy, I suggest the explicit teaching of the meaning of the different English prepositions and the contexts in which they are traditionally used. If successful, such teaching will address both learners' incorrect choices of preposition and their tendency to omit prepositions in an attempt at avoiding such choices.

The second most problematic lexical category in terms of lexical selection in the NNSs' free speech proved to be pronouns. Specifically, the importance of agreement between a pronoun and its antecedent in terms of person and number should receive focus in instruction, as such a lack of agreement accounted for 42.3% (i.e. 11) of the 26 lexical selection errors involving pronouns, whilst a lack of agreement in terms of gender accounted for 15.4%. The latter problem is more easily addressed in instruction than the former, as its origin is most likely transference of the lack of semantic gender distinction between pronouns in isiXhosa (Visser, p.c.).²¹ Simple reiteration of the differences between isiXhosa and English in this regard may possibly be a valuable tool in addressing this problem.

²⁰ As Johnson and Newport's (1989) GJT tests only features of English syntax and morphology and not semantics, the results of this test will not be considered in this or the following section.

²¹ Note that grammatical, as opposed to semantic, gender distinction is indeed a feature of isiXhosa grammar.

As the remaining 40% of the non-native semantic features consisted of instances of the non-native use of various words or phrases, without the non-native use of a specific word or phrase amounting to a significant percentage of the overall number of non-native features found in the NNSs' free speech, no suggestions for explicit instruction will be made in this regard.

Morphological non-native features

As more than 70% of the morphological non-native features found in the NNSs' free speech involved errors in inflectional morphology, and more than 80% of these were caused by the incorrect choice of tense form and / or aspect form, only suggestions regarding the explicit instruction of this specific subcategory will be made.

Almost 42% of the errors the NNSs made in choosing a tense form and / or aspect form during their free speech related to past tense forms, which clearly identifies the latter as an area for explicit instruction. Almost 90% of these errors involving past tense forms were due to the use of a present tense form or construction instead of a simple past tense form. In many cases, the target past tense form or construction is not complex or irregular, yet an unmotivated switching took place from past tense to present tense within one utterance. In other cases, a simple past tense form was incorrectly replaced with a more complex present tense construction such as the present perfect. With these divergent error types, the only broad-based suggestion for instruction that may be made at this stage is that consistency be encouraged in terms of tense choice in a given utterance.

Interestingly, the past tense feature ranked only 8th most difficult for the NNSs out of the 12 features tested by the GJT (cf. Table 5). Progressive constructions, however, proved much more difficult at number three in this ranking, despite the number of errors relating to progressive constructions found in the NNSs' free speech amounting to a mere 1.7% of the total of 586 occurrences of a non-native feature. This discrepancy may possibly be attributed to a deliberate avoidance of this construction in free speech based on prior experience of the level of difficulty it poses to the L2 English speaker. For this reason, as

well as its high ranking in the GJT, I suggest that progressive constructions also be given explicit attention in the classroom.

Finally, the results of the GJT support another suggestion for the explicit instruction of English morphology, namely that the third person singular feature be addressed. The fact that this feature ranked number one in terms of the difficulty it posed to NNSs in the context of the GJT (cf. Table 5), is regarded as sufficient grounds for its conclusion in the EAL syllabus. This suggestion is made despite the unnecessary insertion or omission of the third person singular -s having, interestingly, amounted to only 6 (i.e. 5.7%) of the 106 occurrences of an error in inflectional morphology, which translates into only 4% of the morphological non-native features in total.

Of the grand total of 586 occurrences of a non-native feature in the NNSs' free speech, the specific subcategories of syntactic, semantic and morphological features discussed above all constitute 3.8% or more, with no other equally prevalent category having accidentally been left out due to the choice to suggest for explicit instruction the top occurring subcategories in each main category. As there is, however, one other non-native feature that constitutes exactly 3.8% of the grand total, namely irrealis constructions, I would like to include this feature as a candidate feature for explicit instruction. This decision is supported by the fact that irrealis constructions constitute a quarter of the errors that involved the incorrect choice of tense form and / or aspect form, which in turn proved to be the primary source of morphological errors. To conclude my suggestions above, I thus also recommend addressing, alongside the incorrect use of present tense forms in past tense constructions, the choice of tense and aspect form in the formulation of irrealis constructions.

6.2 Conclusion

The main research question I attempted to answer was, as set out in Chapter 1, "What are the most common non-native features in the L2 English usage of NNSs with L1 isiXhosa?" The aim in attempting to answer this question was to establish which features

should be targeted in the explicit instruction of English grammar to learners at lower levels of proficiency.

The response to this research question offered by the findings of my study is that L1 isiXhosa speakers who have reached a NN level of L2 English proficiency struggle most with the syntactic features of English, followed by semantic and then morphological features. In terms of syntax, learners' omission of especially prepositions and articles should be addressed in explicit instruction, along with the syntactic positioning of adverbs, especially adverbs of time, and particles in sentences. In terms of semantics, incorrect lexical selection, especially of prepositions / prepositional phrases and pronouns, proved the most common non-native feature to be addressed in explicit teaching. In regards to pronouns, the importance of agreement between a pronoun and its antecedent in terms of person, number and gender should receive primary focus in instruction. The most common morphological non-native features found in the L2 English usage of the NNSs proved to be those involving inflection, with the accurate formulation, especially in terms of tense and / or aspect forms, of past tense, progressive and irrealis structures being the features to be addressed in explicit instruction, along with the third person singular feature.

Given the time constraints associated with a Masters level study, I chose to use a relatively small group of eight participants to inform the final study. In order to determine whether the features of English grammar identified as problematic in this study are indeed representative of the features which are most problematic for the larger isiXhosa-speaking population (at least in the Western Cape), the study would have to be replicated on a significantly larger scale.

In such a replication of the current study, I would also advise designing a GJT specific to the purposes of the study. The existing GJT which was used in this study due to time constraints was less than ideal, even though it is widely used internationally. It tested only 12 broadly classified features of English morphology and syntax, whilst the free speech was analysed to contain a much greater number of features that required a detailed

classification if specific conclusions were to be drawn from it. Conversely, some of the features tested in the GJT, e.g. yes/no-questions and wh-questions, were not found in the free speech, often due to the interview-format used for speech elicitation. These factors rendered a direct comparison of the results of the GJT and the free speech largely impossible. Consequently, I had difficulty in providing a succinct, direct answer to my secondary research question, i.e. “Do the features of English grammar that prove to be problematic in the free speech of NNSs with L1 isiXhosa also prove to be problematic when the same speakers are formally tested on these seemingly problematic features through the use of a GJT?”. As a direct comparison would have provided clearer guidance in answering this question, in future research, I would first determine which non-native features are found in NNSs’ free speech and then, on grounds thereof, develop my own GJT that tests those features specifically. Nonetheless, the results of the GJT did, in many instances, serve to inform the suggestions I made regarding which features of English grammar should be targeted in explicit instruction.

Future research may furthermore include the design of teaching materials that follow an explicit approach to teaching the features that proved most problematic to the isiXhosa speakers in this study. IsiXhosa primary school learners could then be recruited and divided into two groups: an experimental group that receives the explicit instruction and a control group that does not. A comparison of the two groups’ performance on a pre- and post-test would then indicate the value of the explicit instruction of these features to speakers at lower levels of proficiency.

Despite the limitations mentioned above, I believe that, due to the depth of my analysis, the study reported in this thesis does provide valuable insight into the features of English grammar that L1 isiXhosa speakers find most problematic. In doing so, I believe it contributes to our understanding of L2A, in general, and of the L2A of English by L1 speakers of isiXhosa, more specifically. In my opinion, research of the kind reported in this thesis serves as a first step in addressing an important language-in-education issue, i.e. the generally low L2 English proficiency levels among South African learners, especially in environments that provide little opportunity for the natural, uninstructed

acquisition of this language. The latter issue, if left unattended, might seriously disadvantage future generations of learners. Consequently, it is my hope that this study will encourage more research along this vein and that such research will, in the not too distant future, inform choices regarding the teaching of English as an L2. More specifically, I hope that such research will lead to the development of a more effective South African school level curriculum for the subject EAL (be it a first or second additional language). In doing so, it will provide each learner with a fair chance at achieving the high level of L2 English proficiency currently regarded as the key to upward socio-economic mobility.

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APPENDIX 1

Participant information sheet

February 2011

PARTICIPATION IN A STUDY ON ISIXHOSA-ENGLISH BILINGUALISM

Dear prospective participant

I am currently busy with a MA degree in Linguistics for the Language Professions at the Department of General Linguistics of Stellenbosch University. As part of my Master's degree, I am conducting research on the second language acquisition of English by first language speakers of isiXhosa. I am specifically interested in the near-native level of ultimate attainment reached by certain isiXhosa-English bilinguals. To collect data for this research, I need 10 first language speakers of isiXhosa who regard themselves as near-native speakers of English, as well as 10 first language speakers of English, who would be willing to

- (a) complete a language background questionnaire
- (b) if called upon, complete a standardised English proficiency task
- (c) if again called upon, undergo an informal, semi-structured interview and thereafter
- (d) complete an English grammaticality judgement task.

The language background questionnaire will be sent to all prospective participants via e-mail. It should take about 15 minutes to complete and may then again be returned to the researcher via e-mail. The proficiency task will be scheduled to take place at the university on a day and at a time that suits the participants who are called upon after qualifying for the study on grounds of the information provided in the questionnaire. The task will take about one hour to complete. Certain participants will be called upon to undergo a semi-structured interview at a later date that suits the participant. The latter will take the form of an informal discussion between the researcher and participant, using topical questions to elicit free speech. The discussion will be recorded and ought not to

last longer than 45 minutes. Directly hereafter, a grammaticality judgement task will be administered in which the participant will be asked to grade the grammaticality of a list of English utterances, i.e. decide whether it is, in their own opinion, an acceptable or possible sentence in English. This task should take no longer than one hour.

Please note the following:

1. All information about participants will be treated as strictly confidential.
2. Participation in the study does not involve any costs on your part.
3. If you are interested, I can provide you with an electronic copy of my thesis upon its completion.
4. Even if you do consent, you are free to withdraw from the study at any stage, without having to provide a reason.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please complete the attached consent form and return it to me. Should you have any questions or require any further information, you are welcome to contact me at 076-379-8806 or annekep@sun.ac.za, or to contact my supervisor (Dr Simone Conradie) at 021-808-2052 or sconra@sun.ac.za.

I trust that your participation in this study will help make a contribution to our understanding of second language acquisition in general and isiXhosa-English bilingualism specifically.

Yours sincerely,

Ms Anneke Perold

APPENDIX 2

Informed consent form



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Second language acquisition study on isiXhosa-English bilingualism

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Anneke Perold (BA Languages and Culture) from the Department of General Linguistics at Stellenbosch University. The study is to form the basis of her thesis that will be submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree MA in Linguistics for the Language Professions. The study requires both first language speakers of isiXhosa who have attained a near-native level of second language English proficiency, as well as a control group of first language speakers of English. You were thus selected as a possible participant in this study because you fall into one of the abovementioned two categories.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study is determine what features may be found in the second language English usage of near-native speakers with isiXhosa as a first language.

2. PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following things:

- (e) complete a language background questionnaire
- (f) if called upon, complete a standardised English proficiency task

(g) if again called upon, undergo an informal, semi-structured interview and thereafter

(h) complete an English grammaticality judgement task.

The language background questionnaire will be sent to all prospective participants via e-mail. It should take about 15 minutes to complete and may then again be returned to the researcher via e-mail. The proficiency task will be scheduled to take place at the university on a day and at a time that suits the participants who are called upon after qualifying for the study on grounds of the information provided in the questionnaire. The task will take about an hour to complete. Certain participants will be called upon to undergo a semi-structured interview at a later date that suits the participant. The latter will take the form of an informal discussion between the researcher and participant, using topical questions to elicit free speech. The discussion will be recorded and ought not to last longer than 45 minutes. Directly hereafter, a grammaticality judgement task will be administered in which the participant will be asked to grade the grammaticality of a list of English utterances, i.e. decide whether it is, in their own opinion, an acceptable or possible sentence in English. This task should take no longer than one hour. All contact sessions will take place at the University of Stellenbosch, starting in the first week of class, with the last of the interviews hopefully being completed by mid-March 2011.

3. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

The participants will not experience or be exposed to any potential risks or discomfort by participating in this study.

4. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND / OR TO SOCIETY

The participants will not benefit personally by participating in the research. The results of the study will, however, contribute to a better understanding of isiXhosa-English bilingualism within the theoretical field of second language acquisition, and so inform the practice of bilingual schooling currently proposed by many researchers for the typical multilingual South African classroom.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

Participants will not receive payment for participation in the study.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by storing the data in hard copy form as well as electronically, with only the researcher and her supervisor having access thereto.

If participants should choose to do so, they are welcome to listen to the audio recording of their interview and see the results of the proficiency and grammaticality tasks. The recordings and the completed tasks will be stored in a locked cabinet to which only the researcher has access.

The results of the study will be documented in the final thesis that is to be submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree MA in Linguistics for the Language Professions. No names of any participants will be mentioned in the final document. In the event of there being reference to individual results, participant numbers will be used, which will not allow anyone except the researcher to determine the identity of a participant.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to participate in this study or not. If you do volunteer to participate in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact the principal investigator, Miss Anneke Perold (0763798806; annekep@sun.ac.za), or her supervisor, Dr Simone Conradie (021 808 2135; sconra@sun.ac.za).

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT OR LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE
--

The information above was described to me by Anneke Perold in English and I am in command of this language. I was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Subject / Participant

Signature of Subject

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____ [*name of the subject / participant*]. [He / she] was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions. This conversation was conducted in English.

Signature of Investigator

Date

APPENDIX 3

Language background questionnaire

Participant number: _____

Please answer all the questions below. Note that your response to this questionnaire will be handled in confidentiality and that you will remain anonymous in all documents that make reference to the information you have supplied.

A. Personal information

Surname: _____ First name: _____

Telephone number: _____ Best time to contact: _____

E-mail: _____

Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female

Year of birth: _____

Place of birth: City _____ Country _____

If you were not born in South Africa, how long have you been living here? _____

How would you rate your immediate family's socio-economic status on grounds of your parents' income? Please circle the appropriate word.

Very low Low Medium High Very high

B. First language (mother tongue) and English as a second language

1. What is your first language? _____
2. What is the first language of your mother? _____
3. What is the first language of your father? _____
4. Which language(s) did you speak at home as a child? _____
5. What language did your primary caretaker (e.g. mother, grandmother, older sibling or playschool / crèche teacher) speak when interacting with you?

6. What is the dominant language(s) spoken in the community that you grew up in?

7. What language(s) do you currently use when communicating with family members?

8. What language do you use most frequently in your current place of residence (e.g. university residence, flat, student house, family home, etc.)?

9. At what age did you receive your first significant exposure to English (not counting the English heard in the media)? _____
10. In what context was this, e.g. at school, at a good friend's house, etc.?

C. Education and Language Use

1. What language(s) were used as the medium of instruction in the schools that you attended?
Please also indicate the name of the schools and its location (city and country).

	Languages	Location
Playschool / Crèche / Preprimary School		
Primary / Elementary School		
Secondary / High School		

2. Which language(s) do you use:

At home	
In social situations	
At university	
When studying by yourself	
At your place of employment (if any)	
At religious gatherings (if applicable)	

3. Please rate your linguistic ability in English and any other languages that you know (other than your first language). Use the following abbreviations:

- L = low
- I = intermediate
- A = advanced
- NN = near native (i.e. good enough to be easily mistaken for a first language speaker of English)

Skill	English	_____	_____
Reading			
Writing			
Speaking			
Understanding what you hear (listening)			
Overall competence			

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

APPENDIX 4

Interview schedule

Participants are to be asked the following questions as part of an informal, semi-structured interview that will be tape-recorded for purposes of analysis:

1. Where did you grow up / go to school?
2. What course are you studying?
3. What are your subjects?
4. What are your first impressions of your various subjects?
5. What career do you see yourself in?
6. Do you think you made the right choice in terms of course and subjects?
7. If you were to find that you made the wrong decision in regards to your subjects or course in general, what would you do?
8. If you were to successfully complete your course, would you prefer to do a postgraduate course or immediately start earning money in the “real world”?
9. Did you take a gap year?
10. If so, where did you go and what did you do?
11. If not, would you like to take a gap year upon completion of your studies?
12. Would you prefer to go to London, which was a very popular choice until a couple of years ago, or to the Far East, which is becoming increasingly popular?
13. Do you stay in res?
14. If so, what are your first impressions of res life?
15. How have you been experiencing initiation?
16. If you do not stay in res, where do you stay?
17. How are you experiencing your first weeks away from home?
18. Have you made many friends yet?
19. How have been you experiencing your first couple of weeks as a Matie?
20. What do you think of RAG week?
21. Did you go to *Vensters*?
22. Did you go to the yearly *Party oppie Braak*?
23. What do you hope to gain from your time as a Matie?

The following questions are to be asked at the end of the interview and will not inform the current study, but possibly serve as data for a future study with a stronger sociolinguistic approach:

1. Do you consider yourself to be “English” or “isiXhosa”?
2. Are you equally confident and comfortable in both languages?
3. Do you perceive your isiXhosa identity or heritage as threatened by English?
4. What do you think are the advantages of being able to speak English and isiXhosa?

APPENDIX 5

A list of all of the non-native features found in the participants' free speech

Please note the following coding conventions used in the transcription of the sound files:

- The word or larger speech segment in which the non-native feature or error lies, is underlined.
- If a word or phrase was omitted in the original conversation, it is indicated between *s in the relevant position, e.g. **that**.
- If only part of a sentence is quoted, the preceding and / or following omitted part of the sentence is substituted by an ellipsis in square brackets, i.e. [...].
- Unintelligible speech segments are indicated by a question mark placed in brackets, i.e. (?). A guess at what such a segment might have been is also indicated between brackets, followed by a question mark, e.g. (*speaking to?*).
- If a word or a part of a word was unnecessarily repeated more than once, the multiple utterances are joined by a hyphen, e.g. *it-it*.
- If a multi-word utterance was unnecessarily repeated more than once, the multiple utterances are separated by commas, e.g. *then they will, they will, like, notice me*.
- If a speaker's speech trailed off, it is indicated by an ellipsis, i.e. ...
- A false start is separated from the following reformulation by an ellipsis, followed by a comma, i.e. ..., .
- If a speaker was interrupted mid-utterance, it is indicated by a dash, i.e. - .
- If a quoted segment of a conversation involves utterances by both the participant and the researcher, the participant number (i.e. the abbreviated pseudonym of the participant) is listed first, followed by the participant number or the initials of the researcher, depending on who spoke first in the quoted segment of conversation, e.g.

X4: X4: *I think it's also probably specific to our province because *of*
Xhosa and English and Afrikaans being the...*

AP: *The provincial languages.*

- If a segment of speech quoted below contains more than one type of non-native feature or error, only the non-native feature or error of the type currently under discussion is underlined, or in the case of an omission, indicated with an underscore. The other non-native feature(s) or error(s) are indicated in the relevant section(s).
- For purposes of anonymity, all person, place and institution names have been replaced with pseudonyms. The researcher's name has been replaced by her initials, i.e. AP.

SYNTACTIC NON-NATIVE FEATURES

1. Word order errors

1.1 Incorrect placement of adverbs

- **Degree adverbs or adverbial phrases of degree**
 1. X1: [...] and I didn't attend crèche really because it wasn't really necessary at that time.
 2. X1: No, I can't cope really, because I have to, like, know...
 3. X4: I haven't had quite problems with that.
 4. X7: So it-it almost gives me a higher pedestal than someone who just can speak one language.
 5. X9: Now, at the very..., at that very same time, it's not now easy for you to go just ask your dad: "I need money for this and this and this", you know?
 6. X2: ... and a lot of people just are like: "Okay, no. I'll just park outside".
 7. X4: It's just all additional, but, ah, so, main thing, main thing next year is your thesis.
 8. X9: Like, whenever especially there's a gathering, like a ceremony, then everybody will, like, drink, you know, brandy or anything, but man things.

- **Locative adverbs**

1. X2: AP: [...] *so we lost our whole deposit, in pounds, that we were planning on bringing back.*
X2: *And I'm going on here about 3.4... [South African rand – AP]*

- **Adverbs of time / Phrases specifying time**

1. X1: *I passed my grade five, but I had to go back, because there was that thing: “when you’re, like, from a black school, when you’re going to now a coloured school, you have to, like (?). They have to like (?).” You weren’t supposed to, like, go to the next grade.*
2. X1: *I’m doing my first year. Only now I’m doing my first year...*
3. X1: *Maybe when I come back from America, everything now is like...*
4. X1: *She-she-she was first there.*
5. X1: *When they greet me, say “hi”, say “Molo, bhuti” [= “Hello, brother” – AP] and then they will, they will, like, notice me if they are not..., they can’t understand me, so that I can speak now English.*
6. X1: *So how do you expect me to have to, like, study now another language?*
7. X4: *It’s very close, so by train..., that’s if I get my times right, because actually from Station X there’s two trains, so, connecting trains, so this train might get this at this time in Town Y and then you have to wait for..., so..., but usually twenty, twenty / thirty minutes?*
8. X4: *If you..., maybe I go now into the corporate world and I get a job and I now have to get used to the staff [...].*
9. X4: *[...] and I don’t complain myself, right, because we kind of classify sometimes people in terms of age [...].*
10. X9: *It was called first “Crèche X”, but then again, like, she kinda took over [...].*
11. X9: *Now, at the very..., at that very same time, it’s not now easy for you to go just ask your dad: “I need money for this and this and this”, you know?*

12. X9: *But always you have to express in a way that you're also doing your bit to actually get it.*
13. X9: *We determine now when did you get out.*
14. X6: *Okay, um, I stayed in my childhood in the Eastern Cape, um...*
15. X6: *I stayed the first years of my life with my gran.*
16. X8: *And people sometimes are very shocked by the way I express myself [...].*
17. X8: *A lot of people do have now male friends through that.*
18. X8: *"Don't ever communicate with me. Don't try ever find me. Ever. Don't".*
19. X2: *Staying now with a guy is not working for me.*
20. X2: *Dude, like, like Apartheid now is, like, within the black culture.*
21. X9: *[...] but it doesn't mean they're not good business people, just because they make, somewhere along the way, like, bad decision.*
22. X2: *So, I started thinking about all the of the things I've said in the past two years to him.*

- **Adverbs of probability**

1. X1: *Maybe by the time, the baby maybe is sick, my mother has the money and...*
2. X1: *I think I'm gonna have to drop it maybe next year.*
3. X4: *And I think my mother had a hunch that probably I would make it.*
4. X4: *For me, to learn your culture probably be... Not necessarily that your culture threatens mine..., when I start learning your culture, mine's gonna be threatened, but, uh, some people view it that way.*
5. X4: *[...] so a Xhosa person can't go necessarily the option maybe to go to University Y where maybe Xhosa is actually gives..., is given more-more-more attention to that side.*

- **Commenting adverbs**

1. X4: *Well, definitely they're better than the one at University X, [...].*

2. X4: *I-I-I definitely would recommend the place.*
3. X4: *[...] I think some girls actually was staying in the same res - in Residence X - [...].¹*
4. X9: *Well, I was, I was born actually in the Western Cape.*
5. X9: *[...] I spent my primary actually at a Afrikaans school.*
6. X9: *Because at school I did actually Physical Science, Geography and all that.*
7. X9: *Then he read the criteria, what it's all about and it's more actually theoretical work, [...].*
8. X9: *There's a way to speak, because you have that mentality, you're speaking actually to ancestors by (speaking to?) the cow.*

- **Focussing adverbs**

1. X9: *Um, he was studying also Human Resource.*
2. X4: *But, ah, this year it's..., I think even it was end of last year; it got very quiet.*
3. X4: *So, all of his assistants, all-all our names were in, without our even consent.*

- **Adverbs of manner**

1. X1: *Now, when I'm with..., or we attend together Sociology..., so, when I'm with the other one, the other one gets jealous.*

1.2 Incorrect placement of quantifiers

1. X9: *I had older brothers, older sisters. So, everything that's mine, was mine. That's it and I was only the person there to play with it and share it.*

¹ Note that, in this utterance, no emphasis was placed on *was*, which would have rendered the placing of *actually* grammatically correct.

1.3 Incorrect placement of prepositional phrases

1. X9: *Ingcibi [= “performer of circumcisions” – AP] to a man is like his own god.*
2. X9: *Ja, ja, we give him that respect that he died at least a man.*
3. X4: *What norm-..., people normally do there is to do all their course work in the first year and in the second year go do, um..., go for the next semester on exchange.*

1.4 Incorrect placement of a preposition before the noun phrase in constructions where it should follow the noun phrase (overgeneralisation of a syntactic rule)

1. X1: *I’ve got these two friends... The other one I’m attending with... What’s this? Philosophy.*
2. X1: *And the other one I attend with PDM.*

1.5 Incorrect placement of relative clauses

1. X9: *Like, you can go anywhere, but people like..., the ingcibi [= “performer of circumcisions” – AP] will be..., he will be, like, rated from the amount of deaths-deaths or the amount of people that actually come out alive that he performs on.*

2. Word omission errors

Omitted words are indicated with * on either side thereof. In cases where more than one consecutive word was omitted, the omitted word not relevant to the section under discussion is also provided, but placed between brackets. The omission of these words is then noted separately in a section relevant to the word's lexical category.

2.1 Complementisers

1. X1: *Only now I’m doing my first year... The reason being *that* I passed my matric in 2005.*
2. X1: *Now it’s just *that* my baby’s grown up. She’s five.*

3. X1: *If you cannot communicate with me in Afrikaans, maybe you can try and communicate with me with another language, because it's not necessary *that* you have to speak English.*²
4. X7: *The good thing about Town X *(is) that* for the first time, I have, um, a variety of friends, [...].*
5. X9: *You see, the thing I've noticed about my subjects *(is) that* they're kind of, like, really changed..., chained together [...].*

2.2 Conjunctions

1. X9: *But then again, when-when I found that actually there is a Human Resource, but in a BA section *and* a Human Resource in a BCom section, that kind of actually intrigued me [...].*
2. X4: *And, so, English is-is-is a big part of-of-of-of how we communicate and, um, and given the fact that, uh, you can't really do separate..., can't really separate *and* say: "Now, 'kay, now I'm speaking English. Now when I go home... and-and-and-and-and talking my-my home language..."*
3. X6: *You get guys who are born in Xhosa home, *but* he doesn't speak isiXhosa, he hasn't gone to the mountain and he doesn't want to go to the mountain.*

2.3 Degree adverbs

1. X9: *Well, you can do it whenever, but people believe that it's actually much cheaper and it's actually much *more* interesting to do it in masses.*
2. X6: *I think I'm very, I'm very *much* like my mom. [...] I'm very *much* like my mom.*

² Here, the use of *have to* is unmotivated, which might have been caused by the accidental mixing of *it's not necessary for you to speak English*, *it's not necessary that you speak English* and *because you don't have to speak English*.

2.4 Articles

1. X1: *One is from Limpopo, the other one from *the* Northern Cape.*
2. X1: *The other one was from Limpopo and the other one was from *the* Northern Cape.*
3. X1: *I have to, like, call this one and say: "Come to-to *the* X [name of the student centre – AP]. I'm here".*
4. X4: *I grew up in City X..., in Township X until 1998 and then *(at) the* end of '98 I moved to Town X.*
5. X6: *No, um, I left Town Y *(at) the* end of standard five.*
6. X4: *Wednesday you would definitely know it's a Wednesday. *(On / over) the* weekend you would definitely know it's a weekend.*
7. X6: *Ja, canoeing. I was quite talented. I was *(among) the* top ten in the country.*
8. X4: **A* bit of differential treatment [...].*
9. X4: *It's just all additional, but, ah, so, *the* main thing, main thing next year is your thesis.*
10. X4: *[...] their specific partner is, ah, *the* University of City Y.*
11. X4: *Umm, I used *a / the* train, ja, *a/the* train most of the time and *a / the* taxi sometimes.*
12. X4: *That, for me, would..., probably would have had-had *a* more devastating effect than someone else, because I'm trying to fit in and not stand out [...].*
13. X4: *So, I was friends with his friends at a very..., also *an* early age, so I even...*
14. X9: *It's quite..., *a* very interesting place.*
15. X9: *[...] but it doesn't mean they're not good business people, just because they make, somewhere along the way, like, *a* bad decision.*
16. X9: *That's the best time (?) when people are off work and they're going to *the* Eastern Cape, enjoying their families, see the new initiates.*

17. X9: *Like, newly initiates, like..., you know that in *the* Eastern Cape it's..., you know the huts?*
18. X9: *It's 'cause it's *the* Eastern Cape.*
19. X9: *It's actually popular in *the* Eastern Cape.*
20. X9: *Well-well, initially yes, but now it's kind of coming to a balance of 50/50 actually, because more people from *the* Eastern Cape actually bring their families [...].*
21. X9: *You see, like, as a Xhosa person, you're bound to go to *the* Eastern Cape, because that's where you're from; that's your home. Everything happens there. When there's a new child in the family, it must be..., it happens in *the* Eastern Cape..., the ceremony happens in *the* Eastern Cape. When someone is dying, the ceremony will happen in *the* Eastern Cape.*
22. X4: *[...] in Cape Town, right, you've got different people, you know? People who still..., who grew up in *the* Eastern Cape, or just grew up in Cape Town, but with their grandmothers [...].*
23. X4: *So-so I always..., *a* friend of mine always say that, so, you shouldn't be resistant to change.*
24. X9: *That is *an* advantage.*
25. X9: *Because of ancestors, you do rituals; you do how to slaughter *a* cow, whatever.*
26. X8: *Like *the* two of us - it's insane; we finish each other's sentences.*
27. X8: *And then her parents came the week just before *the* holidays.*
28. X6: *Um, I teach on *the* holidays..*
29. X8: *There you had *a* Xhosa Debating Society and, um, also a lot of..., there was a Xhosa Day [...].*
30. X6: *You get guys who are born in *a* Xhosa home, he doesn't speak isiXhosa, he hasn't gone to the mountain and he doesn't want to go to the mountain.*
31. X10: **The* thing is I have first year, first, um, first semester modules and my second year modules.*

32. X10: [...] it's **a** lot of that.
33. X10: **An** Indiana Jones type of thing.
34. X10: *But what..., no, what makes me angry is that they're gonna sell that cell – my cell phone – for like *a* hundred and fifty bucks and then they, like, take it and that's it.*
35. X10: *So they're just gonna get *a* dummy phone now.*
36. X10: *But in my first year, I was in a single room, 'cause I was *the* on-only person doing Speech..., on-only guy doing Speech on campus.*
37. X10: *I was last home in February, like, um, before I, before, um, first-first semester..., *the* opening of the first semester.*
38. X10: AP: *Um, what do you hope to gain from your time as a student of University X?*
X10: *Uh, um, the best info I can get, *a* social life [...].*
39. X2: *For the first, like, semester it was quite okay actually. *The* second semester was very, like, depressing.*
40. X2: *I'm, like, 21 now, so partying is not on *the* top of my list.*
41. X2: *[...] there's like *a* whole lot of confusion there, [...].*

2.5 Auxiliaries

1. X1: *I used to do that, but now I *have* got a flat around here.*
2. X1: *How will you know if the baby is healthy or not, if you *do* not go to a clinic?*
3. X4: *Xhosa is-is-is seriously difficult if you..., even if you *are* gonna say..., comfortably say you're a Xhosa speaker [...].*
4. X4: *We *are* losing.*
5. X4: *For me, to learn your culture *would* probably be...*
6. X4: *“Why is Afrikaans people..., why *are* they trying that?”*
7. X9: *Like, we had everything, but the environment where we *were* at, you know...?*
8. X8: *After everything they said: “Okay, we're gonna do duh-duh-duh-duh-duh”, *(we) would* put up our hand and go: “Do we have to?”*

2.6 Copulas

1. X4: [...] *what it meant *was* that from grade one, I was the youngest in all my classes until today [...].*
2. X7: *I think the only, the only problem I really, I really had with the res *was* that when you apply to Residence X, you're not told it's Halaal.*
3. X7: *The good thing about Town X *is (that)* for the first time, I have, um, a variety of friends, [...].*
4. X9: *You see, the thing I've noticed about my subjects *is (that)* they're kind of, like, really changed..., chained together [...].*
5. X4: [...] *but who have chose to carry on, *are* brave enough to-to carry on, um, they seem to be..., uh, they seem to have had it.*³
6. X9: *I actually wanted to go to black schools, because my Xhosa was actually fading away and kids were making fun of me, you know? “*(You) are* not able to construct Xhosa words properly”, you know what I'm talking about?*
7. X4: **(I) am* doing my Honours and now Masters.*

2.7 Prepositions

1. X1: *Only now I'm doing my first year; the reason being I passed my matric in 2005. *In* 2005 I fall pregnant and I had to, like...*
2. X1: *So, I went to work *in* 2006 after I delivered my baby, up until last year.*
3. X1: *I had only my baby's dad and we broke up *in* 2009 and I never had a...*
4. X1: *If I was *on* night shift, I had to work *from* six o' clock 'til another six in the morning and now I didn't even have a chance for my baby.*

³ Here, the omission may be of only the copula *are*; the aspectual auxiliary *have* coupled with the past participle form of the copula *been*; or of the relative pronoun *who* coupled with the aforementioned auxiliary and copula, i.e. *who have been*.

5. X1: *It's not right, because it's like..., some people are like..., feel like I'm discriminating *against* them and stuff or I feel like Xhosa is the main thing in City X or something like that, that...*
6. X1: *She's like..., sh-she-she-she-she-she wants to be listened *to*.
Nobody else must talk.*
7. X1: *Like, I expected her to, like, go crazy that I'm, I'm pregnant *at* this age and stuff, but she didn't.*
8. X1: *[...] it was compulsory to do Afrikaans and when I went to another school *in* grade-grade eight and I was told there it was compulsory to do Afrikaans and I was like: "No" [...].*
9. X1: *[...] how can I learn *about* your culture if I don't know how to communicate with you?*
10. X1: *To be quite honest with you, I hated Afrikaans, because *of* what happened: [...].*
11. X4: *I grew up in City X..., in Township X until 1998 and then *at / towards (the)* end of '98 I moved to Town X.*
12. X4: *And then from grade five, finishing or finishing off my primary education at, um, Primary School X. *From* there on, after that, I went on to High School Y.*
13. X4: *[...] ..., think I was *in* grade nine when there was an incident.*
14. X4: *Well, last year for Honours we wrote 8 000 words, which was 25 to 30 pages *in* total [...].*
15. X4: *Um, well, there's a lot of..., the international office, uh, and the, well, the department I think more specifically, they're partnering *with* quite a lot of universities.*
16. X4: *Um, our- our Honours group *from* last year and some of the people who have survived, so, not survived..., [...].*
17. X4: *Wednesday you would definitely know it's a Wednesday. *On / over (the)* weekend you would definitely know it's a weekend.*
18. X4: *I think even it was *at / towards (the)* end of last year, it got very quiet.*

19. X4: *I think it (?) must have been close to exam time, but that seems to have carried over *to* this year as well.*
20. X4: *That, for me, would..., probably would have had-had more devastating effect than *for* someone else, because I'm trying to fit in and not stand out [...].*
21. X4: X4: *[...] I think it's also probably specific to our province because *of* Xhosa and English and Afrikaans being the...*
AP: *The provincial languages.*
22. X4: *I got the email from him and he actually required me... well, he actually told me that he's already given my name, so now what he was requiring *from me* was to go get other names and I must give him the names.⁴*
23. X7: *First, your first chapter is *on* the economy and how it came about, and how we've accepted it today, and how the industrial revolution influences how we live in current times; basically it's *on* how we come to know what we know today.*
24. X7: *Um, we had to analyse a poem *by* Billy Collins.*
25. X9: *Well, I was, I was born, actually, in the Western Cape. It's a very rural area, like, it's actually outside of the Western..., like more *on* the outskirts.*
26. X9: *So, whenever you want things, you just reach *for* it easily and comfortably.*
27. X9: *[...] and supporting me *in* whatever decision I'm trying to make.*
28. X9: *So, I think I would, I would definitely, like, continue *with* it and obviously see my pitfalls.*
29. X9: *Try to work on it, get as much help as you need, then of course continue *with* the subject, because, I mean, if it's what you like, why not go for it?*

⁴ Here, not simply a single preposition, but the prepositional phrase *from me* was omitted. As it forms part of a larger, clearly-defined unit that was omitted, the omission of the pronoun *me* was not counted separately as an omission.

30. X9: *We loved the respect people gave us and of course we loved the respect of spending, talking about things to our fathers, you know, that we couldn't talk *about* before.*
31. X9: *Now, we can talk *about* more intimate things.*
32. X9: *Because most *of* the people escape [...].*
33. X9: *The way we ask..., the way how I ask: "How are you?", ja, it's way different from a man to a man and a guy to a guy. You can quickly spot, okay, if I ask you: "How are you?" and *from* the way you respond, I will quickly detect, no, you still haven't gone there.*
34. X9: *And you have boxes *of* matches; you have a knife (not to stab people *with*, please).*
35. X9: AP: *And do you live in res now?*
X9: *Well, ja. *In* 2009 I didn't. I was private, but now I live in res.*
36. X6: *No, um, I left Town X *at / towards (the)* end of standard five.*
37. X6: *Ja, canoeing. I was quite talented. I was *among (the)* top ten in the country.*
38. X4: **At* this one point in time when I went there and, um, we were in town and noticed Chinese people as well talking, uh, Xhosa there.*
39. X4: *For me, to learn *about* your culture probably be... Not necessarily that your culture threatens mine..., when I start learning *about* your culture, mine's gonna be threatened, but, uh, some people view it that way.*
40. X9: *That's it and I was only the person there to play with it and share it *with*.*
41. X9: *I have a lot of students that came in the first year, but they were *in* the main stream [...].*
42. X8: AP: *Um, so when..., but did you have it up until grade seven?*
X8: *We had, yes, up until grade seven and then *in* grade eight you had the option to choose.*
43. X8: *Um, I think because *of* the whole hype of Johannesburg: "Oh my gosh! You have to be in the city of lights!"*

44. X6: *Uh, ja, just, you know, just..., uh, (?) different having a brother
during first-firs- first year and then, and then not having me there.*
45. X6: *I think this is one thing I respect my mother *for* forever.*
46. X6: *If someone speaks Afrikaans, I generally understand what they're
saying, unless they're speaking *about* something very higher
grade.*
47. X10: *Ja, he was a s-..., in the army or something and he got *into* a car
accident.*
48. X2: *And then for another three years I went to school *in* Town X,
because then I lived with my mother alone.*
49. X2: *Ja and *during* the rest of high school I was in City X.*
50. X2: *So, I was like: "I'm not paying for it. If they have issues with that,
they can tell me, but I'm not paying *for* it".*
51. X2: *So, I just found, like, someone to share it *with* and I'm starting to
regret that now, because he's a guy.*
52. X2: *[...] his loan has come with six months of the rent, like, in advance.
He'll be liable to pay *for* the other six months, because I signed a
contract.*
53. X4: *[...] I-I-I-I do that quite a lot, so..., which is why I'm probably not
sure which side I fall *on*, because I do see...*
54. X6: *So now, ja, I like to do different things *from* what I used to like
when I was younger.*
55. X1: *He is there, but I don't see..., I don't really see her role *as* better
than what my mother does, because my dad..., no, man, my dad is
not really a hard worker like my mother.*

2.8 Particles

1. X1: *My baby's growing *up* there. One day she's gonna have her own
child and she's gonna grow *up* there, so I have to, like, make a
change.*

2. X8: *[...] they always had this serious face and they'd never, ever smile, and we were like: "How long are they gonna keep this *up* for? Because we really can't keep, like, doing this".*

2.9 Infinitive marker

1. X8: *"Don't ever communicate with me. Don't try *to* ever find me. Ever. Don't".*
2. X10: AP: *It was an escape, ja.*
X10: *Ja, I think. *To* get away from it.*

2.10 Pronouns

• Reflexive pronouns

1. X9: *But always you have to express *yourself* in a way that you're also doing your bit to actually get it.*
2. X9: *It was very unfortunate, because not all of my friends went to initiate in the same year, but then sadly of course, because I couldn't help it, I had to, like, to-to-to get away from them, like, to-to detach *myself* from them.*

• Relative pronouns

1. X4: *[...] I think some girls *who* actually was staying in the same res - in Residence X - they were really, really loving their Xhosa and mainly because of him [...].*

2.11 Subjects

1. X4: **I (am)* doing my Honours and now Masters.*
2. X4: AP: *It doesn't even look different?*
X4: **It* doesn't look too different.*
3. X4: *So, *you* even have people there smoking at night when they're having a cigarette at two in the morning and chatting and-and, it was just horrible.*

4. X7: *Um, I went to school in two different places. I grew up in Town X, um, and then high school, when I was fourteen, *I* went to Town Y and then to Girls' High School X.*
5. X7: *English was a bit daunting at first, but *I* got the hang of that...*
6. X7: AP: *So, do you spend a lot of time practising all the characters?*
X7: *All the characters, yes. *I* listen to tapes to get the tones, because the tones are very different to ours.*
7. X7: *Um, English Studies... my first essay was quite low. *I* failed my first essay.*
8. X7: *And then my second one was pretty high and my third one [clears throat] – excuse me - *I* haven't got it back.*
9. X7: *I want to settle in South Africa, so I'm gonna only go to China for five years, then come back. *I* haven't thought as far as when I'm back in South Africa, but I know that I do wanna be a diplomat in China.*
10. X7: *Just because I don't agree with certain things from my culture, *it* doesn't really mean that I'm against my culture; [...].*
11. X9: *I actually wanted to go to black schools, because my Xhosa was actually fading away and kids were making fun of me, you know? “*You (are)* not able to construct Xhosa words properly”, you know what I'm talking about?*
12. X9: *It's the best thing that ever happened to you: to be transformed from a boy to a man, being told what is..., how a man intro-..., just the fact of integrating with men; being in their presence; talking about stuff, *them* asking for your advice...*
13. X6: *And then *you* go to Masters and Masters is also one year.*
14. X4: *Um, *it* should probably be, ah, about a couple of years ago?*
15. X4: *And uh, and so, *I* grew up in City X from grade five, from grade five, which I was nine.*
16. X4: *I don't think the level of difficulty in Afrikaans Second Language... *We* didn't really go as deep as Second Language..., Afrikaans*

Second Language in Xhosa Second Language, because I got a ridiculous, um, mark at the end of the year.

17. X4: *So, *it* just..., sometimes just becomes a bit difficult in terms of when I get there and, um, I'll be hearing new words [...].*
18. X9: *It's like, she amazed me, you know? Like, and everything. *I* just watched her and of course she'd feel " Ah, he's watching me".*
19. X8: *After everything they said: "Okay, we're gonna do duh-duh-duh-duh-duh", *we (would)* put up our hand and go: "Do we have to?"*
20. X8: *And at night it lit up and everyone was always so fascinated and I was on top, so *you* couldn't miss me.*
21. X2: **It* saves us a lot of money.*

3. Errors relating to the incorrect / unnecessary insertion of a word

3.1 Conjunctions

1. X4: *I used to think I was tall, but until I came here.*
2. X9: *[...] when-when I found that actually there is a Human Resource, but in a BA section, a Human Resource in a BCom section, that kind of actually intrigued me [...].*
3. X9: *But it's a good subject. It's very interesting, though, but ja, it's hard work.*
4. X10: AP: *Okay, okay, so you would like to have that bit of overseas experience?*
X10: *Oh, ja. I'd go.*
AP: *Cool. Okay.*
X10: *But I like Asia, though, I really like Asia.*
5. X10: AP: *She was very weird when she got back. She was almost, like, emotional, and she said the food was extremely bad.*
X10: *Ja, it was bad, though.*
6. X7: *And sometimes because not to worry them, you know, I don't even tell them about certain things [...].*

3.2 Prepositions / prepositional phrases

1. X4: [...] I was doubting in myself [...].
2. X9: That is, that is a part of it. Just on a small scale of it.
3. X9: Wow, I've actually improved so much in my English.
4. X2: And actually I'm looking for, like, another place to stay for next year.
5. X2: So, I'm like: "I'm gonna look for, like, an okay place to stay for next year".
6. X2: AP: There's life in Town X, you know? [...]
X2: Ja, except for during the holidays.

3.3 Pronouns

- **Personal pronouns**

1. X10: I was like: "Huh-uh, this is, like..., I can't bear it to see this".
2. X9: It's not really old. Maybe I'm just mistaking it.
3. X4: [...] well-well some of the issues that we do talk about in terms of relating to this language, uh, I always find it that I'm not really sure on which side I fall in terms of the language policy here at University X.

- **Reflexive pronouns**

1. X1: They will..., they should be..., just be proud of themselves; not saying that they shouldn't, like, mix themselves with the white, but they shouldn't let the white culture take away their culture.
2. X4: [...] that's because I..., myself..., I was..., sometimes felt drawn in.
3. X4: So that's why I say, even myself, I can't even hide behind this thing "I'm young" because I've been in the type of environment of..., generally of other people, so I can't really myself hide behind it.
4. X4: [...] I, myself..., well, coming here, coming here I was very worried [...].

- **Demonstrative pronouns**

1. X1: *My worse is Philosophy. I hate, I hate, I hate studying about thinking. I think Philosophy is... I didn't know at first it was..., what it was and I was like: "Okay, let me just (?)", because it was just an additional subject, and now I chose this Philosophy.*
2. X1: *I should have, like, taken History or something that... because History is straight-forward and this Philosophy you have to like..., have to think, step back and think: "Why am I doing this? Why am I...?"*
3. X1: *If you can go to that Holy Cross and ask them: "Who brought Xhosa here?", it was me and I'm proud.*
4. X1: *Afrikaans was-was compulsory at primary level. Ja, it was. It was. But it wasn't the harsh Afrikaans, it was just the past tense and stuff, so I can, like, ask my mother, because she knew that Afrikaans.⁵*
5. X1: *Yes, at some point, because now children are going to these schools and they forget about how they were before and they have to, like, speak this English and they have to, like, take all the-the styles of the English.*

- **Existential *there***

1. X1: *[...] do you remember when there was Prime Circle in the X [name of the student centre – AP]?*

3.4 Articles

1. X1: *They were like: "No, because of the old system of the Apartheid and stuff, we had to, like, be-be, speak English, Afrikaans and stuff".*
2. X1: *I think the English is the main thing that takes them away from the Xhosa culture to the English culture [...].*
3. X10: *Well, I got, I got a very good feedback from my lecturer.*

⁵ Although *that* Afrikaans may be interpreted as referring to *the past tense and stuff*, this interpretation is rendered unlikely by the fact that no emphasis was placed on *that* and that, earlier in the interview, the speaker had mentioned her mother's good command of Afrikaans.

3.5 Auxiliaries

1. X7: *You're not, you're not really told that's it's Halaal and so you get there, and now you can realise it.*
2. X7: AP: *Um, do you think you'd like a gap year when you finish your studies? But a gap year in the sense of not necessarily immediately starting to work in your field, but, you know, going overseas, doing something like waitressing, whatever, just to see the world a bit?*
X7: *Um, if-if-if I had the opportunities, you know, presented to me, then I would have, but my parents are dead-set against gap years.*

3.6 Quantifiers

1. X9: *It's, it's worse, but the only people I've ever seen there is only coloureds.*
2. X8: *[...] because there are some certain⁶ things that you say differently to an older person [...].*
3. X4: *Ja, so I do know some few people who are actually in the department and not Xhosa.*

MORPHOLOGICAL NON-NATIVE FEATURES

1. Errors in derivational morphology

1.1 The use of the incorrect form of a word, where the two forms (incorrect and correct) belong to different lexical categories

The target form of the word is provided in square brackets directly after the incorrectly selected form of the word.

- **Adverb instead of adjective**

1. X4: *I'm actually a tutor that side in the department..., Economics Department. They've actually [actual] tutoring where you actually*

⁶ Here, either one of the two quantifiers would have been sufficient.

have to stand in front of a class and give out information, unlike here [...].

2. X9: *Like, newly [new] initiates, like, you know that in Eastern Cape it's... [...].*
3. X9: *Even the juice was-was really nicely [nice], you know?*
4. X9: *So, that's a really [real] advantage that you should know Xhosa and should know where you come from.*

- **Adverb instead of quantifier**

1. X10: *There were forty students. I think black students, okay. Some were, like, mostly [most] were medical st-..., were gonna do Medicine and Physio and OT.*

- **Noun phrase instead of adjective**

1. X9: *But you know what I'm talking about? You can't just walk, go bare chest [bare-chested] or anything, you know?*

- **Adjective instead of adverb**

1. X10: *She-she was, like, heavy [heavily] breathing and what not.⁷*
2. X2: *I know there's, like, one big one at the end of the semester, but my first French oral went really bad [badly].*

- **Adjective instead of verb**

1. X9: *So, ja, I'm actually interesting [interested] in that, you know?*

1.2 Incorrect choice of derivational suffix

The target form is provided in square brackets directly after the incorrect form.

1. X9: *So the jargon: there's different jargon, you know? Manly jargon and boyly [boyish] jargon.*

⁷ Note that, if the correct word choice had been made, the adverb would have followed and not preceded the verb.

2. X6: *You know, they'll say: "You are, you are counter-revolutional [counter-revolutionary]"*.

2. Errors in inflectional morphology

2.1 Incorrect choice of tense form and / or aspect form⁸

- Errors relating to present tense forms

- Use of a past instead of present tense form

1. X4: *I'm not sure, but actually, I think one of the assistants that we met when we were all together at the beginning of the year, she was a white lady who is doing her Masters in isiXhosa.*
2. X9: *Could you imagine what's gonna happen?*
3. X8: *I'm still fine with all girls. I mean, most people would be like: "Oh, how could you stay with all these girls? [...]"*
4. X6: *No, actually we stayed in Sea Point, but it was, I think..., I couldn't remember what the name of the dam was.*

- Use of an irrealis construction in an overall present tense construction

1. X2: *[...] when people ask me what I am, I'd say: "I'm Xhosa", because I speak more Xhosa than I do Sotho, but in a traditional sense, I'm Sotho.*

- Errors relating to past tense forms

- Use of a present tense instead of past tense form / construction⁹

1. X1: *I would see her when she goes to crèche when I'm arriving at home and when I'm going to work, she wasn't there and it was, like, really, really tiring, but I had no other choice,*

⁸ Although, in English, tense and aspect are sometimes realised through inflectional morphemes and sometimes through free grammatical morphemes, or a combination of both, errors relating to tense and aspect are collectively discussed under morphology for ease of reference.

⁹ Note that the term "present tense form / construction" is here used in the broadest sense, including subcategories like present progressive and present perfect forms and constructions, although most of the examples involve a simple present tense form.

because I had matric (?) and I had to, like, take anything that comes my way.

2. X1: *[...] because I never had the chance, because people were very busy at that time when I was growing up and we had like, we have to, like, lead your life.*
3. X1: *And then I did that, but in November, before my exam was finished, I-I saw that my stomach was, like, getting really big. Now, people are gonna talk behind my back and I decided not to tell my friends.*
4. X1: *I gave birth on Tuesday and then I stay, like, the whole week and then next Monday I had to, like, go to school, [...].*
5. X1: *But my baby was very, very, very nice, because she will, like, sleep, she will, like, sleep the whole day. She will be fine. When I'm coming home, I will be, like, stressed and I can hear the noise of my baby crying.*
6. X1: *But it wasn't the harsh Afrikaans, it was just the past tense and stuff, so I can, like, ask my mother, because she knew that Afrikaans.*
7. X4: *And afterwards, I'm like: "Damn, I didn't have the time to do that". So, it's got to be difficult, first of all dealing with the noise and trying to stay away so I won't be pulled in.¹⁰*
8. X7: *First, your first chapter is the economy and how it came about, and how we've accepted it today, and how the industrial revolution influences how we live in current times. Basically, it's how we come to know what we know today.*
9. X7: *I went to a-a English school, I spoke English, um, I-I-I-I came to accept Western ideologies as my own, you know, and-and then I come here, and then this happened to me, and then it almost changes your mindset [...].*

¹⁰ Here, *has got to be* is incorrectly used to express a musing instead of the completed action that should have been represented by *was*.

10. X7: [...] 'cause when I was at school, I had friends that are of my own, and now it's a mixture of people.
11. X9: [...] because when I actually went to the BA and I see, like, okay, fine, there's Industrial Psychology and all that kind of stuff [...].
12. X9: Then he read the criteria, what it's all about and it's more actually theoretical work [...].¹¹
13. X9: But then again, it just lasted for the first six months, because the new initiates are already on their way.
14. X9: But, initially, ja, it's predominantly, like, a coloured area, but now it's really..., ja, ja, it's changing.
15. X4: I grow up with my mother, so... [...].
16. X9: You see, she was always busy with everything. So, all I had to do is, like, to wait for her 'til she knocks off, so I, I'm always just busy with books.
17. X6: You know, there were certain days where you knew: "Go to the library", but the rest of the time you can study in your room.
18. X10: No, they wouldn't have punished us or anything, ja, 'cause I'm like: "I went to initiation for, like, the Xhosa type of thing..., the Xhosa one..., the mountain-thingy". [...] I'm like: "No, I ca-..., I..., there's no way I'm gonna be running around a girls' res naked again. I'm sorry".
19. X2: I was, like, with my flatmate - the one I'm staying with now - and, um, I was, like, speaking to him, and then these two black guys and a black girl were, like, walking behind us, and then all of a sudden they just start laughing, so I was like: "Okay: accent".
20. X1: AP: But you're not in a relationship with him anymore?

¹¹ Here, *read* was pronounced as the present tense rather than the past tense form of the word.

X1: *Not anymore. Not anymore. I don't know what causes that.*

21. X1: AP: *Oh, okay. So it wasn't..., it didn't have anything to do with the baby?*

X1: *No, it doesn't.*

22. X1: *I was, I was, like, operating the machines that do the glucose. [...] Ja, and we're, like, supplying...*

23. X1: *2005 I fall pregnant.*

24. X2: *I don't trust my Xhosa that well, primarily because I've done mostly English throughout school [...].*

25. X6: *I think as I progressed in Economics, my-my intuitions have changed.*

- **Use of a future tense instead of past tense form**

1. X1: *But my baby was very, very, very nice, because she will, like, sleep, she will, like, sleep the whole day. She will be fine. When I'm coming home, I will be, like, stressed and I can hear the noise of my baby crying.*

- **Errors relating to future tense forms**

- **Use of a present progressive construction instead of a future tense construction**

1. X1: *When I'm 27, then I'm working.*

- **Errors relating to infinitives**

- **Use of a past tense form instead of an infinitive**

1. X4: *[...] even in high school I used to always had to stay away or try and not get the comment or for people that "You're childish".*

- **Use of a progressive participle instead of an infinitive**

1. X9: *So, he was actually more like a mentor to me, like, he-he..., well, he didn't, he didn't work in such a way of actually, like, um, affecting my decision, but more like helping me making the right decision [...].*
2. X9: *But then again, I would say then there's another side to it, because I think it all actually depends on the parents as well, because how much emphasis they give to children, like, to actually..., not actually forgetting about your own language or your own culture...*

- **Errors relating to progressive forms and constructions**

- **Use of an infinitive instead of a progressive participle**

1. X9: *That's the best time (?) when people are off work and they're going to Eastern Cape, enjoying their families, see the new initiates.*

- **Use of an infinitive instead of a progressive participle**

1. X4: X4: *So, they were making fun of my Xhosa.*
AP: *Really?*
X4: *Say that, uh, those Chinese guys in (?) town, they speak, they speak better Xhosa than me.*

- **Use of an infinitival expression instead of a progressive participle**

1. X7: *So, you always try to find something that'll keep you rooted in terms of to express my culture and to express the way I feel and my tradition.*
2. X4: *So, I think each, they-they can do more in terms of to preserve our languages.*

○ **Use of a present progressive instead of a past progressive construction**

1. X1: *I was, like, crying the whole day, because my mother was gonna find out. She's gonna be disappointed in me. She's gonna...*
2. X1: *But my baby was very, very, very nice, because she will, like, sleep, she will, like, sleep the whole day. She will be fine. When I'm coming home, I will be, like, stressed [...].*
3. X1: *[...] because they wanted to pass. If they're gonna study a new language, it was gonna, like, cost them.*
4. X4: *If someone comes to South Africa and when they co-..., go back after studying a semester and you ask them about the culture, um, they really would not have learnt a lot if you're not staying with the people and you...*

● **Errors relating to perfectives**

○ **Use of an infinitive form instead of a present perfect construction**

1. X8: *I mean, I went to a girls' school, so, I mean, I'm not really, uh..., it's fine. [...] I mean, most people would be like: "Oh, how could you stay with all these girls? How could you even go to an only-girls school?"*
2. X8: *And then he told me and I was like..., for two days I was just like: "Oh, my word! How could I not see that?"*

○ **Use of a past tense form instead of a present perfect construction**

1. X1: *Now, I went back to school. I'm not working anymore.*
2. X1: *My worse is Philosophy. I hate, I hate, I hate studying about thinking. I think Philosophy is... I didn't know at first it was..., what it was and I was like: "Okay, let me just (?)", because it was just an additional subject, and now I chose this Philosophy. Now I don't know, I don't know when I'm gonna...*

○ **Use of a past tense form instead of a present perfect progressive construction**

1. X2: AP: *Um, so how long have you been living in Stellenbosch then?*
X2: *Um, I lived here since 2009.*

○ **Use of a past tense form instead of a past perfect construction**

1. X10: X10: *There were forty students. I think black students, okay. Some were, like, mostly were medical st- – were gonna do Medicine and Physio and OT.*
AP: *So it was app-..., it was applicants, basically?*
X10: *Ja.*
AP: *Okay.*
X10: *That got in.*

○ **Use of a past tense form instead of a past participle**

1. X7: *And then my second one was pretty high and my third one [clears throat] - excuse me - haven't got it back.*
2. X4: *Um, our-our Honours group last year and some of the people who have survived, so..., not survived... Okay, "survived" is not the right word, but who have chose to carry on, brave enough to-to carry on, um, they seem to be..., uh, they seem to have had it.*

○ **Use of a present perfect instead of past perfect construction**

1. X4: *I got the email from him and he actually required me..., Well, he actually told me that he's already given my name, so now what he was requiring was to go get other names and I must give him the names.*

• **Errors relating to irrealis constructions**

1. X1: AP: *If, halfway through the year, you realised you hate this one subject or..., even more than, you know, you hate Philosophy now, or you hate your course, what would you do then?*
X1: *I will try and finish this year and then see what I will do next year.*
3. X1: AP: *...or if it was his mom's house?*
X1: *It was gonna be okay, ja. That's okay.*
4. X1: *No, we had to appreciate what we had, because we didn't know that we can have better than what we had.*
5. X4: *[...] well, if you'd actually do it now, I think, rather than in your first year back then, it would've been even better now with Mr X teaching it [...].*
6. X7: AP: *If you were to find that you made the wrong decision in regards to your subjects or your course in general, what would you do?*
X7: *Um, I'd finish the degree first. I-I would. I'd finish it and then I'd start from scratch, because if I then left it halfway, then I've almost sorta wasted my life, whereas I can just finish it.*
7. X7: AP: *Okay. Then how did your mom and your dad end up together if they come from such opposing groups?*
X7: *Um, my mom was at University Y... Yes, and my dad was here.*
AP: *Okay.*
X7: *So they met like that, 'cause if-if they were back home, then...*
8. X4: *And I-I-I'd rather have, I'd rather have that and-and-and a very poorly integrated country, but having our identity, our*

language, a-a language preserved, so it-it's just a trade-off a-a-at the end of the day.

9. X2: X2: *And especially with my course back then; this is the only university in Southern Africa that offers it.*

AP: *Really?*

X2: *Ja, so I was like: "Where else could I go?"*

10. X1: AP: *And, um, what career do you see yourself in with this course? What can you go do with this course?*

X1: *I think I would be, like, working at social services as I wanted to.¹²*

11. X9: *However, if it happens that umkhwetha [= partaker in Xhosa male initiation rites - AP] dies during that course, then in that sense he's still regarded as a man, because nobody knows what the outcomes will be; will he have made it or anything.*

11. X9: *I mean, if it was in Kayamandi, it would have been a different experience. It would have felt like home.*

12. X6: *It usually takes three pages, but I think my mom will find it funny if I just wrote in English.*

13. X6: *I could be this culturalist who just wants to speak isiXhosa, whatever. I'll isolate myself from the world I live in.*

14. X10: *If I could do, like, Ho-Honours or postgrad or whatever, I wanna, like, do, like, Geography.*

15. X10: *Well, you'd enjoy it if you're getting seventy and stuff like that [...]*

16. X10: *Now, like, if you asked me that question in high school, I'd be like: "Oh, well", 'cause I wouldn't know anything, like, academic in high school.*

17. X1: *I wasn't going to do anything of my life if I didn't have her.*

¹² Here, it seems as if the speaker attempted to say *I would like to be working at social services.*

18. X8: *I don't think I'd be able to understand it better, even if I was studying today, okay, in Xhosa and explain it to myself. I'd just be making myself so confused.*

2.2 Errors relating to comparative and superlative markers

- **The adding of a superlative-forming suffix to an adjective preceded by *most***
 1. X8: *They are the most funniest, interesting things ever.*

2.3 Errors relating to plural markers

- **The adding of a regular plural marker to a mass noun**
 1. X1: *And the lack of education that they have leads them to, like, drugs, alcohols and stuff.*
 2. X1: *No, I didn't even know her, but I was just telling her about my stresses and stuff and she could listen...*
 3. X1: *She's like me. Everything: her walks, her talks, her attitude.*
 4. X4: *Like I said, mentioning that things had quite a lot of different impacts in different parts of my life, [...].*
- **Noun (phrase) incorrectly marked or incorrectly not marked as plural**
 1. X9: *Everybody understanding what you have to do, whatever and all that kinds of stuff.*
 2. X9: *I'm not against anything of getting a good education and all that kinds of stuff [...].*
 3. X9: *And do you have a boxes of matches?*
 4. X6: *[...] as soon as you understand the language, you understand the people of that language, 'cause part of understanding a languages means you need to understand certain behaviour, certain things about those cul-..., about those people.*

5. X10: *Okay, they did an autopsy, but they found, like, some type of^{d3} nodules or some of sorts in his brain or something.*
6. X9: *Ja, every..., no, everybody's rooms are single.¹⁴*
7. X1: *[...] and most of the¹⁵ times they are not Xhosa [...].*
8. X8: *I don't know, we probably have this look on our face, like: "If you dare..."*

2.4 Incorrect insertion or omission of third person singular –s (concord errors)

1. X9: *And those things comes with jargon – the way you speak.*
2. X2: *Like, the surrounding farms looks really, really nice.*
3. X2: *[...] 'cause traditionally the fathers like sets the rules [...].*
4. X1: *She wish that I don't meet a guy who can marry me.*
5. X9: *Well, the thing is: well, I-I..., well, my mom always say, like, [...].*
6. X4: *So-so I always..., friend of mine always say that, so..., you shouldn't be resistant to change.*

3. Errors relating to free grammatical morphemes (incorrect choice of allomorph)

3.1 Use of *much* instead of *many*

1. X4: *I haven't had too much complaints [...].*
2. X9: *See, like, in Town X, there's not very much people, so there's no... In other words, not very much people, not very much initiates, not very much men.*
3. X7: *Um, they think that gap years will disorientate you; once you take a gap year you'll take off the rest of your life; the sooner they stop paying so much fees, the better.*

3.2 Indefinite articles: use of *a* instead of *an*

1. X1: *I want to create something, even if it's a organisation that I can, like, manage [...].*

¹³ Note that *some type of* is regarded as a quantificational expression serving the function of a determiner.

¹⁴ Here, a change in number will impact on concord, changing *are* to *is*.

¹⁵ Note that *most of the* is regarded as a quantificational expression serving the function of a determiner.

2. X4: [...] even in Residence X, they've got a international block [...].
3. X4: And it never turned out that, you know, age was a issue [...].
4. X7: I take Mandarin as a extra subject.
5. X7: I went to a-a English school [...].
6. X9: [...] I spent my primary actually at a Afrikaans school.
7. X9: Because there's a area, it's a huge area; it's only for blacks and there's a area only for whites and there's a..., I mean for coloureds, and there's a area which is a mix of coloureds and blacks.
8. X8: I don't know, maybe it was a Town X [where Town X's name has vowel in word-initial position – AP] thing [...].

3.3 Use of *this* instead of *these*

1. X1: And my baby's dad knew before, like, in June already that I was pregnant and then I told this friends of mine.
2. X1: I've been there and I know, I know, I know how start to-to like, to like, to-to engage this children from..., to do what I want.
3. X1: Why did I have to tell this people?

3.4 Errors relating to *is* versus *are* and / or *was* versus *were* (concord errors)

1. X1: You have to know where you're coming from and what is your roots before you can, like...
2. X4: [...] I think some girls actually was staying in the same res [...].
3. X4: I think I generally had a very good support structure in terms of friends and people I could go talk to when things was just not going right.
4. X7: Um, the advantages is that I can speak to a broader spectrum of people.
5. X9: It was painful, because those was my closest friends from-from crèche, actually.
6. X9: You see, the huts is round [...].

7. X9: *But then again, of course, there will be, like, the older men who's, like, probably mid-forties or -thirties [...].*
8. X9: *It's, it's worse, but the only people I've ever seen there is only coloureds.*
9. X4: *"Why is Afrikaans people..., why they trying that?"*
10. X6: *I think there are a lot of the time when people think they stand for different things because they don't understand each other.¹⁶*
11. X10: *If you are..., if you-you and the other person is like very...*
12. X1: *Because, there were no crèche.*
13. X10: *Ja, ja, there is ones for that one.*

SEMANTIC NON-NATIVE FEATURES

1. Lexical selection errors

1.1 Errors involving pronouns

- **Incorrect choice of demonstrative pronoun**

1. X1: X1: *Ja. And we're, like, supplying... What's this [that] company that makes alcohol? S... What is it?*
AP: *SAB?*
X1: *Ja, it's SAB.*
2. X4: *Well, this [that] is not to say that, um, kindly even now, while I'm busy doing my course work, I'm not thinking about it [...].*

- **Use of a demonstrative pronoun instead of an article**

1. X1: *[...] because this [the] pregnancy wasn't planned, we never thought of a name and stuff, because I, like..., I got pregnant doing standard-standard-standard 9.*
2. X1: *And then, like, I was called into this [the] office and my principal was like: "X, I just want you to be straight with me. What's going on?"*

¹⁶ *There are a lot of the time* is a very unusual formulation that might have been caused by the accidental mixing of *there are lots of times* and *a lot of the time*.

- **Use of a relative adverb instead of a relative pronoun**

1. X2: *Like, we had everything, but the environment where [that] we at, you know...?*

- **Incorrect choice of interrogative pronoun**

1. X9: *How [what] would it look like?*

- **Use of an adverb of manner instead of a relative pronoun**

1. X9: *We have very funny stories, like, from the other older women when we're in Eastern Cape, telling about how [what] my mom used to call things, like strange names.*

- **Incorrect choice of indefinite pronoun**

1. X9: *Like, whenever especially there's a gathering, like..., a ceremony, then everybody will, like, drink, you know, brandy or anything [something], but man things.*
2. X9: *Ja, he'll probably go to City X or anywhere [somewhere].*

- **Incorrect choice of pronoun relative to antecedent**

1. X4: *If someone comes to South Africa and when they co-..., go back after studying a semester and you ask them about the culture, um, they really would not have learnt a lot if you're [they're] not staying with the people and you...*
2. X9: *Because now, if you do it in masses, it will be like in December – everybody's not working, everybody's free – so there'll be people to take care of you, because you know they [you] will need medical attention and everything.*
3. X9: *But then again, there are still exceptions, like the man that initiated before you – you can't really, like, do everything that they [he] do.*

4. X9: *So whenever you [us] guys are sitting, you have your things in front of you.*¹⁷
5. X10: *While they were busy rehearsing, someone was busy perusing through their stuff and then they [he / she] took their cell phones and keys and cards and licenses [...].*
6. X1: AP: *Okay. Um, did you enjoy your job?*
X1: *Not really. He [I] was doing it because I had to, ja.*¹⁸
7. X1: *Ja, that's the thing and I think my baby will have to first know Xhosa, before they [she] can go to any other school.*
8. X7: *I know when I'm back home I'm a coconut, 'cause I can speak English with an accent, and I went to school and I'm at varsity and all of that, and then..., so ,you're always just torn. So, you always try to find something that'll keep you rooted in terms of to express my [your] culture and to express the way I [you] feel and my [your] tradition.*
9. X1: *[...] I never had the chance, because people were very busy at that time when I was growing up and we had, like..., we have to, like, lead your [our] life.*

• **Incorrect choice of gender form of pronoun**

1. X1: *The father doesn't stay with the baby. She [he] doesn't really know what the baby needs at what time.*
2. X6: *I'll tell her, like: "This Professor, Stan du Plessis, he's a-..., he's amazing" and he's [she's] like: "Okay, you have a crush on him" [...].*
3. X9: *So, you kind of laugh: "Really? This woman? So fluent in Xhosa right now?" [...] Then again, we understand, you know, because he's [she's] married to a Xhosa guy [...].*

¹⁷ Here, *the guys* are not present in the room, so they cannot be the referent of *you guys*. The only person present in the room other than the participant is the researcher, who is female and alone and who can therefore also not be the referent. *Us* would have been the correct pronoun if the speaker intended to include himself as one of the guys.

¹⁸ This pronoun is also in the incorrect gender form as the speaker is a female.

4. X1: *He is there, but I don't see..., I don't really see her [his] role better than what my mother does, because my dad..., no, man, my dad is not really a hard worker like my mother.*

- **Incorrect choice of pronoun type**

1. X9: *The way we ask, the way how [that] I ask: "How are you?", ja, it's way different from a man to man and a guy to a guy.*
2. X10: *[...] 'cause I like Eric Whittaker, um, compo-..., compositions and stuff. So he said they might do something of that [his] [...].*

1.2 Errors involving prepositions

- **Incorrect choice of preposition / a prepositional phrase**

1. X1: *Maybe by [at] the time, the baby maybe is sick, my mother has the money and...*
2. X1: *I know everything about Township X and I've, like, had my own visions about [for] Township X.*
3. X1: *I've got, I've got my visions about [for] that Township X thing and I'm gonna work on it.*
4. X1: AP: *Is she also studying here?*
X1: *No, not here. In-in [At] University X.*
5. X1: AP: *But then, if you get married, why can't you live in the house with your mom?*
X1: *That's totally unacceptable from-from [in] my culture.*
6. X1: *Ja, I'm gonna fail and I'm gonna lose the interest of [in] studying.*
7. X1: *I wasn't going to do anything of [with] my life if I didn't have her.*
8. X1: *My parents, both my parents are very good in [at] Afrikaans.*
9. X1: *If you cannot communicate with me in Afrikaans, maybe you can try and communicate with me with [in] another language, [...].*
10. X4: *I even heard most-most of them talking about taking up this opportunity of going to [on] exchange next year.*

11. X4: [...] *from Town X there's two trains, so..., connecting trains, so this train might get this at this time in [to] Town Y and then you have to wait for..., so..., but usually twenty, twenty / thirty minutes?*
12. X4: *So, some people would have a tendency of saying [to say] "Wow, that guy!", you know?¹⁹*
13. X7: *Um, there're a lot of things now that I don't agree in [with] within my own traditions and culture [...].*
14. X7: *Just because I don't agree with certain things from [in] my culture, [...].*
15. X9: *Like, my brother has a diploma in-in [from] Technikon X, so...*
16. X9: *Because he did, like, com-..., BCom subjects from [at] school, like Accounting, Business, all that, all that kind of stuff.*
17. X9: *And if you do it, like, between [in] the year, people are working; people stay in City X, City Y, everything and Eastern Cape is empty.*
18. X9: *So, you have to do it on [in] June or December.*
19. X9: *So, there's a change of [in] that as well and...*
20. X9: *There's a specific way of how [in which] people sit.*
21. X9: *Ja, ja, so it means that you're still on [in] the process; you haven't crossed the bridge yet. You're still on [in] the process; you're on your way...*
22. X9: *Most guys will really feel offended to [by] that.*
23. X9: *[...] the incibi [= performer of circumcisions – AP] will be..., he will be, like, rated from [on grounds of] the amount of deaths-deaths or the amount of people that actually come out alive that he performs on.*
24. X9: *And you know that by [from] talk.*
25. X9: *Look, the thing is, like, I'm the last one in the family and I-I've always had everything for [to] myself.*
26. X6: *I can, like, postpone it for [to] later and hand it in in January.*

¹⁹ Syntactically, when *of* takes a verb as complement, the verb has to be in the progressive form, as may be seen in *of saying*. If, however, the correct preposition, i.e. *to*, had been used, it would have required the infinitive form of the verb, i.e. *say*, as complement.

27. X6: *Maybe this enthusiasm and this whatever will run-run out by [towards] the end of the year, but at the moment I'm just so happy.*
28. X4: *But we sort of..., we pride ourselves, right, in terms of [on] having a rainbow nation, different cultures.*
29. X9: *Okay, because I went to [on] the EDP programme, because, like, in high school we weren't prepared for varsity and stuff like that.*
30. X9: *Actually, the EDP programme should actually be a compulsory programme to [for] every, all students.*
31. X9: *What will happen if you can't even provide the first question of [to] their questions?²⁰*
32. X9: *They speak fluent English and you know, I've never had problems of [with] getting their attention.*
33. X8: *And I was like: "No, I can't ever", 'cause I'm very bad with [at] Afrikaans, but...*
34. X8: *So, I guess living with those people who are used to it can give you, like, a better perspective of [on] how you can actually feel comfortable.*
35. X8: *So, I was always under that sort of pressure, but I put myself in [under] that pressure.*
36. X8: *Um, we need to definitely retain our tradition and culture, but there are some things that we need to move out of [away from].*
37. X6: *I think even in [over] Easter she might, she might be coming, 'cause it's my sister's birthday on the 14th of April.*
38. X6: *Ja, there was, like, an even distribution in [of] the guys that went to University X and the guys that came to University Y.*
39. X6: *So, I was, I was actually here at [in] Town X and ja, I had lots of fun.*
40. X6: *Okay, and then there's the other world where I'm at [in] the Eastern Cape with my extended family.*
41. X6: *[...] the world that I live in, it requires that I spend more time learning and it requires that I be, I be better in [at] English [...].*

²⁰ Note that *first question* was a slip of the tongue – it should have been *first answer*.

42. X10: *That's what I always say of [to] myself; I'm like: "Next semester, it's just gonna be a breeze".*
43. X10: *[...] then they check, like, if their ground or their soil for [in] that area is suitable for building or what not.*
44. X10: AP: *And wh-where was this?*
X10: *At [in] Town X.*
45. X10: *I-I used to stay at [in] res.*
46. X10: AP: *Um, are you equally confident in both English and isiXhosa?*
X10: *No. [...].*
AP: *[...] And is that speaking? Reading? What, you know?*
X10: *Reading. Well, I think I'm good in [at] both when it comes to reading.*
47. X10: *I-I-I'm actually angry at myself that I didn't really pay that much attention in [to] my Afrikaans.*
48. X2: *In Town X in the Eastern Cape. That's, like, in [on] the border of the Eastern Cape and the Free State.*
49. X2: *And then English and then, okay, I can't really say I'm that good in [at] Afrikaans, but I can understand it more than I speak it.*
50. X2: *I've got a friend who stays at [on] a farm just outside of Town X.*
51. X2: *Ja, like, she's not really that good in [at] English.*
52. X2: *Like, we had everything, but the environment where we at [in], you know...?*
53. X7: X7: *I'm sure you've heard of Shaka Zulu, right?*
AP: *Ja, ja, ja.*
X7: *Ja, so... my dad comes in the line with [of] that ancestry.*
54. X9: *[...] because actually going there, you're only going to realise it's totally different than [from] what you actually know and that's how...*
55. X6: *Um, I teach on [over] holidays.*

- **Use of a prepositional phrase instead of a determiner before the direct object noun phrase**

1. X9: *I think you're never, you're never aware of how much you actually improve in speaking [your] English.*

1.3 Errors involving adverbs

- **Incorrect choice of degree adverb**

1. X1: AP: *And, um, so your mom uses her disability grant to look after your baby, along with the dad's money?*
X1: *In a way, because you can't really rely on one person. The father doesn't stay with the baby. She doesn't really know what the baby needs at what time. Maybe by the time, the baby maybe is sick, my mother has the money and... ja... so, really [actually] she does help with the grant money.*
2. X2: AP: *Okay, so they are bigger than those.*
X2: *Ja.*
AP: *Okay.*
X2: *Okay, not "a little" - quite [a lot] bigger.*

- **Incorrect choice of adverb of time: *now* instead of *then***

1. X1: *When they greet me, say "hi", say "Molo, bhuti" [= "Hello, brother" – AP] and then they will, they will, like, notice me if they are not..., they can't understand me, so that I can speak now English.*
2. X1: *If I was night shift, I had to work six o' clock 'til another six in the morning and now I didn't even have a chance for my baby.*
3. X4: *[...] you will get there and do..., take the subjects that you normally wouldn't take. You'll be thinking: "Well, actually, there's a good chance I might fail". So, now you can do those and n-not-not actually worry about that.*
4. X7: *You're not, you're not really told that's it's Halaal and, so, you get there, and now you can realise it.*

5. X10: *So, ja, and then, like, on our last day they gave us, like, envelopes and then they actually, like, gave us, like, bursaries and stuff. So, that's probably why I stuck..., why I had to stick to S-..., to Speech now, 'cause I knew..., I was like: "Okay, I don't have money anyway, so I-I might as well just stick to it".*
6. X10: *Well, since I was here now, so I-I had more information, so that I-I was like: "Okay then, I..., if I don't do this, I can go there and then get some funding or something".²¹*

- **Use of a preposition instead of an adverb**

1. X4: *[...]we went to high school together and, well, she came here after [afterwards]. So...*

1.4 Use of a complementiser instead of a conjunction

1. X1: *Like, I expected her to, like, go crazy that [because] I'm, I'm pregnant this age and stuff, but she didn't.*

1.5 Use of a conjunction instead of a complementiser

1. X4: *Ja, and the reason for that is actually because [that] I grew up in City X.*

1.6 Incorrect choice of auxiliary

1. X1: *[...] if you cannot speak English, that's a problem, because you cannot [will not / won't] be able to communicate with other people...*

1.7 Incorrect choice of determiner type

1. X10: *[...] then they check, like, if their [the] ground or their [the] soil for that area is suitable for building or what not.*

²¹ In the last two examples, the adverb of time *now* wrongly signifies present instead of past tense, but should ideally be omitted.

1.8 Use of a quantifier instead of an adjective in its comparative form

1. X9: *Okay, there might be a more [bigger] portion of coloureds, but still, like, it's not really a wide proportion.*

1.9 Use of a homonym with its meaning as an interrogative pronoun instead of its meaning as an adverb of time

1. X9: *We determine now when did you get out.²² If I got out, like, before most of the people, then I'm considered the elder.*

1.10 Use of *certain* instead of *certain types of*

1. X6: *You need to understand certain behaviour, certain things about those cul-..., about those people.*
2. X10: *Say if they wanna build new schools or anything or they wanna – I don't know – if-if there's like certain vegetation or something like that that's..., [...].*

1.11 Use of an indefinite instead of definite article

1. X7: *Embarrassing in a [the] sense that you have to dance in front of a crowd of people, or you have to sing, but there was nothing degrading about it.*
2. X6: *I think it doesn't matter where I'm working, I wanna go into a [the] corporate world.*

1.12 Incorrect choice of wh-proform²³

1. X4: *So, she got me into school in '95, ja, which [when] I was four, turning five.*

²² As there was no rising intonation at the end of the phrase *when did you get out*, it seems as if this phrase was incorrectly used in the format of a question, but with the intended meaning of an adverbial phrase specifying time, as would have been the case if the word order had been *We now determine when you got out*.

²³ The term “proform” is used to refer to a pronoun-like element that may serve as a pronoun, adverb or adjective. Here, the error in choice relates to the fact that *which*, unlike *when*, cannot serve a time adverbial function.

2. X4: *And, uh, and so..., grew up in City X from grade five, from grade five, which [when] I was nine.*

1.13 Use of a preposition instead of an infinitival expression

1. X9: *[...] he didn't work in such a way of [to] actually, like, um, affecting my decision, but more like helping me making the right decision and supporting me whatever decision I'm trying to make.*²⁴

2. The non-native use of words / phrases

2.1 The quantifier *another*

1. X1: *If I was night shift, I had to work six o' clock 'til another six in the morning and now I didn't even have a chance for my baby.*

2.2 The phrase *the other one*

- The use of *the other one* in constructions where there are more than two noun phrases

1. X1: *In Technikon X, but now she's working in Company Y and the other one is a pharmacist and the other one is..., she did Psychology, but she's still studying; the other one that I came after.*

- The use of *the other one* to refer to the first of two noun phrases

1. X1: *[...] when I came here, I had two friends. The other one was from Limpopo and the other one was from Northern Cape. They both..., the other one was Tswana and the other one Sotho, but I couldn't keep up speaking to them.*
2. X1: *I've got these two friends: the other one I'm attending with..., what's this? Philosophy. And the other one I attend with PDM. So, I met them at different times. Now, when I'm with..., or..., we attend together Sociology, so when I'm with the other one, the other one*

²⁴ Syntactically, *of* requires as complement a verb in the progressive form, as may be seen in the forms *affecting*, *helping* and *supporting*. If, however, the infinitive marker *to* had correctly been used, it would have required the infinitive forms of these verbs.

gets jealous. And when I'm with the other one, the other one gets jealous.

3. X1: *Their names: the other one is X and the other one is Y.*
4. X4: *Uh, well, the other option is to do the thesis option. Just the thesis. Um, and then there's the course work option and I'm, I'm doing the course work option [...].*
5. X10: AP: *Are they all married? The sisters?*
X10: *Um, my other one is divorced; the other one never got married.*

2.3 Incorrect use of *proud* through omission of a prepositional phrase complement with *of* / *to* as head

The omitted phrase is indicated between *s.

1. X1: AP: *I just think you should be proud of your language.*
X1: *I'm very, very proud *of my language*.*
2. X1: AP: *[...] do you consider yourself to be English or Xhosa?*
X1: *I'm Xhosa. Jô. I'm very proud *of being / to be Xhosa*.*
3. X1: *If you can go to that High School X and ask them: "Who brought Xhosa here?", it was me and I'm proud *of it*.*

2.4 Use of *maybe* instead of *for example* / *say* / *perhaps*

1. X1: *Because the other mistake that people have, they take their children..., their young children, maybe [say] to the white crèches.*
2. X4: *If you..., maybe [say] I go now into the corporate world and I get a job and I now have to get used to the staff [...].*
3. X4: *So it's not like I was..., maybe [say] when I was in grade one or something, I was..., they promoted me mid-year [...].*
4. X4: *[...] what is asked of someone who's maybe [for example / say], I think, now should be at least 23,[...].*
5. X1: *If..., in Township X, if a person maybe [perhaps] becomes successful, they leave Township X and go (?) to stay in Town Y and stuff [...].*

6. X4: [...] so a Xhosa person can't go necessarily the option maybe [say / for example] to go to University X where maybe [perhaps] Xhosa is actually gives..., is given more-more-more attention to that side.

2.5 Use of *well* instead of *good* / *much*

1. X4: [...] the classes are smaller, so the interaction between students is also..., is quite well [good] [...].
2. X2: I don't trust my Xhosa that well [much], primarily because I've done mostly English throughout school [...].

2.6 Use of *as well* instead of *also*

1. X4: This one point in time when I went there and, um, we were in town and noticed Chinese people as well talking, uh, Xhosa there.

2.7 Use of *talk* instead of *speak*

1. X4: This one point in time when I went there and, um, we were in town and noticed Chinese people as well talking, uh, Xhosa there. Everyone talks Xhosa there.
2. X4: And, so, English is-is-is a big part of-of-of-of how we communicate and, um, and given the fact that, uh, you can't really do separate..., can't really separate say: "Now, 'kay, now I'm speaking English. Now when I go home... and-and-and-and-and talking my-my home language..."

2.8 Use of *now* as a discourse marker

1. X2: I know, but, like, other than that, um, my, um, house mother and-and her family now, we had like an okay relationship, [...].
2. X2: Ja, because there was this one time – I think it was after my grandmother's funeral – now there's this whole cleansing ritual type of thing that you have to do, um, and they put, like, sheep's gall, like, on your face.

3. X2: *Ja, like, she's not really that good in English. So, like, if she now says something in English and it's wrong in a sense, like, I feel I need to correct her [...].*
4. X1: *Maybe when I come back from America, everything now is like...*
5. X4: *If you..., maybe I go now into the corporate world and I get a job and I now have to get used to the staff [...].*

2.9 Non-native ways of designating familial relationships

1. X1: *I've got five siblings. Ja. It's my first sister who's a teacher and the other, my brother, who's a social worker, my other sister - she did management.*

2.10 Unusual, idiosyncratic or incorrect use of a content word (phrase)

Where possible, the word / phrase more likely to be used by an NS is provided in square brackets.

1. X1: *I want to create something, even if it's a organisation that I can, like, manage to call all the children and, like, give [teach] them the importance of studying, because that's the only thing that they lack - it's their education.*
2. X1: *I can, like, speak [have] a conversation with a person who speaks Zulu.*
3. X1: *"Where am I..., where am I gonna leave my things? Who am I gonna leave my things with if you also get to [fall into] this trap of your sisters and stuff?"*
4. X1: *When they greet me, say "hi", say "Molo, bhuti" [= "Hello, brother" – AP] and then they will, they will, like, notice me [notify me / let me know / signal / indicate] if they are not..., they can't understand me, so that I can speak now English.*
5. X1: *Afrikaans was-was compulsory at primary level. Ja, it was. It was. But it wasn't the harsh [difficult] Afrikaans, it was just the past tense and stuff, [...].*

6. X1: *Yes, at some point, because now children are going to these schools and they forget about how they were before and they have to, like, speak this English and they have to, like, take [take on / accept] all the-the styles of the English.*
7. X1: *You have to first be firm [sure / convinced] of who you are.*
8. X4: *Well, this is not to say that, um, kindly even now, while I'm busy doing my course work, I'm not thinking about it [...].*
9. X7: *I would take [do] a post-graduate course, yes.*
10. X7: *Um, she wasn't in any of the places that were rife in [heavily affected by] Apartheid.*
11. X9: *It was very unfortunate, because not all of my friends went to initiate [to be initiated] in the same year, [...].²⁵*
12. X9: *But then again, there are still exceptions, like the man that initiated [was initiated] before you - you can't really, like, do everything that they do.*
13. X9: *So, you need the people you initiated with [you were initiated with].*
14. X9: *It was actually nice, but then again we are manly; we do everything in a behavioural [controlled] manner.*
15. X9: *This guy will define [determine] what will happen, but you-you can still, like, protest: [...].*
16. X4: *[...] so a Xhosa person can't go [have] necessarily the option maybe to go to University X where maybe Xhosa is actually gives..., is given more-more-more attention to that side.*
17. X8: *Um, in my school it was a very, um..., very upheld [respected / revered] society.*
18. X8: *Everyone needs to do that and there're different ways in different cultures to do such [so].*

²⁵ In terms of semantic roles, initiation is an action that is performed by an agent and undergone by a theme. All of the persons referred to in utterances (12) to (14) represent the theme of the action of initiation (i.e. those who had undergone initiation), but are incorrectly presented as the agent (i.e. those who had performed the initiation) due to the non-native use of the verb *initiate*.

19. X9: *And, of course, you can higher [increase] your prices as well.*
20. X1: *Because the other mistake that people have [make], they take their children..., their young children, maybe to the white crèches.*
21. X7: *I would have gone for maybe three years max, have [get] experience, then came back to South Africa [...].*
22. X4: *I always make [present] the argument that I do not really agree with most of the changes [...].*
23. X8: *I found out he was doing [playing] some stupid game with his friends to see how far he could get with me.*
24. X6: *But you know, you're not forced to take [follow] recommendations.*
25. X10: *She-she takes [goes on] diets and what not.*
26. X7: *I-I hope, I hope to gain people skills, to make [form] solid friendships...*
27. X9: *Those are like..., more like support subjects. It's not really compulsory, but, ja. It's just for interest sake, of course.*
28. X9: *But if it's a man, you can spot it. He's just..., you just spot it, of course.*

2.11 Incorrect formulation or use of a set expression

Where possible, the correct formulation of the used set expression or an alternate, more suited set expression is supplied in square brackets.

1. X1: *And at home that's so different, because my mother says the last words [has the last word] and my mother... I think she's a bully in some way.*
2. X1: *[...] she's gonna come back to me [get back to me] and stuff and then it was..., she opened her Xhosa class and she hired a teacher.*
3. X1: *When did that law pass [When was that law passed]?*
4. X9: *It was called first Crèche X, but then again [but then], like, she kinda took over and, like, do her own part, like, with the whole crèche [...].*
5. X9: *So I thought: "Okay, BCom or BSc is way out of the line!" So, ja... But then again [but then], when-when I found that actually there is a*

Human Resource, but in a BA section, a Human Resource in a BCom section, that kind of actually intrigued me [...].

6. X9: *So, ja, but I wasn't good with calculations. No. So I thought: "Okay, BCom or BSc is way out of the line!"*²⁶
7. X9: *I think it's, it's always there, you always know, but it's always at the back of your head [in the back of your mind], because you know that anything could happen.*
8. X4: *I tell him: "Well, if the change for me was kind of broad-based, you know, in terms of [in the sense that] its source didn't come from say just a Western, you know, Westernisation, just, you know...?"*
9. X4: *And, I-I think just, ah, well-well some of the issues that we do talk about in terms of relating to this language, uh, I always find it that I'm not really sure on which side I fall in terms of the language policy here at University X.*²⁷
10. X4: *They have high praises [high praise] for him.*
11. X6: *So, she might come. She still wants to come to see the new university. [...] Ja, so she wants to come see to [see] that.*

PRAGMATIC NON-NATIVE FEATURES

1. Use of *yes* / *ja* to confirm the content of a negative statement

1. X1: AP: *Oh, is the dad still not working?*
X1: *Ja.*
2. X1: AP: *Oh, okay. So they won't necessarily get along?*
X1: *They won't. Ja.*
3. X1: *I'm not really comfortable in English. Ja, not really [...].*
4. X4: X4: *I-I-I definitely would recommend the place. I-I...*
AP: *If you can join in the fun, basically. Not-not if you're supposed to be studying.*

²⁶ Here, the speaker possibly incorrectly formulated the set expression "to be out of line" by inserting *the*. If so, the use of the latter expression would have been unsuited to the context and better replaced by something such as "out of the question" / "not an option".

²⁷ Here, there is no need for the set expression.

- X4: *Definitely, ja.*
5. X6: AP: *Oh is it, is it not a very good school? Not-not compared to High School X?*
- X6: *Ja.*
6. X2: AP: *So, your mom never learnt Sotho as, like..., as an adult?*
- X2: *Ja, No. [...]*
- AP: *Okay, because your dad could speak Xhosa, there wasn't really any real reason for her to make the effort?*
- X2: *Ja.*
7. X2: AP: *Oh, she's not supposed to do that?*
- X2: *Ja.*

LOAN WORDS

1. X1: *Haibo!* (isiXhosa / isiZulu = expletive conveying disbelief)
2. X1: *wena* (isiXhosa = 'you')
3. Everyone: *ja* (Afrikaans = 'yes')
4. X1: *toe mos* (Afrikaans discourse markers functioning as an adverbial phrase that lacks an accurate English equivalent. Consider, for example, X1's utterance *Ja, because it was toe mos just after the-the-the democracy thing [...]*, which is best translated as "Yes, because it was the case that it was just after the democracy thing, wasn't it?")
5. X6: *gees* (Afrikaans = 'team spirit')
6. X6: *plaas*. (Afrikaans = 'farm')
7. X2: *skelms* (Afrikaans = 'crooks')
8. X2: *né* (Afrikaans = tag question marker similar to "hey")

OVERUSED WORDS AND FORMULAIC PHRASES

1. X1: *It was like that.*
2. Everybody: *like* (used as a discourse marker)
3. X4: *right?* (used as a tag question marker)
4. X4: *in terms of*

5. X9: *but then again* (often used in the wrong context)
6. X9: *You know what I'm talking about?*
7. X9: *of course* (often used in the wrong context)
8. X9: *stuff like that*
9. Everybody: *So, ja... / And ja...*
10. X9: *I'm telling you.*
11. X9: *I don't want to lie to you.*
12. X2, X6: *Dude*